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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Volume XLV APRIL 1950 *Number 2*

SUBCONSCIOUS REPETITION AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM

ERIC LAUGHTON

The phenomenon here discussed is not confined to any one writer or, indeed, to any one age. It is a psychological factor in writing, and especially in prose writing, with which most of us must have become familiar through our own experience. I mean the tendency to repeat a word or phrase two or three times in close succession. A word or word-pattern, once used, fixes itself in the mind in such a way that it tends to reappear involuntarily after a very short interval and sometimes produces an "echo" considerably later. Naturally, this feature occurs most frequently in the less formal utterance of letters and, of course, in private conversation. But even in more careful composition it may escape the vigilance of the writer not only at the time of writing but also when he is revising his work. It is characteristic of prose rather than of verse, because the limitations of meter demand an awareness in which such aberrations cannot easily take place. But in verse, also, examples could readily be found of single words thus repeated. The subject was handled by A. B. Cook in 1902, in an article in which the writer illustrated the phenomenon by scattered examples from Greek and Latin authors, with analogies from English literature.[1] But Cook was more concerned with the "echo" than with what one might term the "contextual" repetition, and his treatment does not suggest how prevalent the latter may be in the works of any one writer. Moreover, while he does not overlook the relevance which such repetitions may have for textual criticism, his remarks are not supported by a sufficient body of evidence to carry the weight which they deserve.[2]

I shall first present a comprehensive, though not exhaustive, collection of examples drawn from the writings of Cicero and consisting mainly of "contextual" repetitions. Then I shall attempt to show how this psychological factor may, with due caution, be invoked to aid in the establishment of a disputed text.

I. SUBCONSCIOUS REPETITIONS IN CICERO

Even though Cicero was a rapid and prolific writer, he can scarcely be accused of being slipshod. Deliberate repetition he could, and did, use effectively; and, if a phrase seemed worth using more than

[1] "Unconscious Iterations, with Special Reference to Classical Literature," *CR*, XVI (1902), 146–58, 256–67. Professor J. Tate kindly drew my attention to this article after a first draft of the present paper had been completed.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

once, he was fully prepared to use it.[3] Such conscious and deliberate repetitions, which are generally recognizable as deliberate, do not concern us here. First, I give some examples of the subconscious echo.

De domo sua

86: . . . populi *incitati* vim *iracundiamque* subierunt.

88: . . . si me populus Romanus, *incitatus iracundia* aut invidia, e civitate eiecissent.

De fin.

iii. 14: . . . erit enim notius quale sit pluribus notatum *vocabulis* idem *declarantibus.*

40: ne tu, inquam, Cato, *verbis* illustribus et id, quod vis, *declarantibus.*

iv. 57: . . . ut *verbis* utamur quam usitatissimis et quam maxime aptis, id est rem *declarantibus.*

Here the position of *declarantibus* in the clausula has evidently been chiefly responsible for the echo.

De fin.

v. 42: . . . quibusque rebus cum aequalibus *decertant, si vicerunt, efferunt se laetitia, victi* debilitantur animosque demittunt.

61: indicant pueri in quibus ut in speculis natura cernitur. quanta studia *decertantium* sunt! quanta ipsa certamina! ut illi *efferuntur laetitia, cum vicerunt!* ut pudet *victos!*

48: *videmus*ne ut pueri *ne verberibus quidem* a contemplandis rebus perquirendisque *deterreantur?*

55: *videmus* igitur ut conquiescere ne infantes quidem possint. cum vero paululum processerunt, lusionibus vel laboriosis delectantur, ut *ne verberibus quidem deterreri* possint.

[3] E.g., *Cat.* 3. 15: "quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod *ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica* constituta est." Cf. *Cat.* 4. 20: "*ceteris* enim semper *bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica* gratulationem decrevistis." Cf. also *Epp. ad Att.* ii. 1. 6; *Phil.* ii. 2.

Epp. ad fam.

xvi. 5. 2: . . . equidem *Patras euntem neminem* praetermittam.

6. 2 [written on the same day]: . . . ut ego *euntem Patras neminem* praetermitto.

In all these instances the recurrence of a thought has brought with it a repetition, with greater or less accuracy, of the words previously used. This kind of reminiscence can occur, of course, not only from one part of a work to another but from one work to another, which may be considerably removed from it both in time and in subject. Thus in *De fin.* iii. 37 the younger Cato, addressing Cicero, is made to say: "aut quis est, qui maiorum, aut Africanorum aut *eius, quem tu in ore semper habes, proavi mei* . . . facta, dicta, consilia cognoscens nulla animo afficiatur voluptate?" Here there is an unmistakable echo of a passage written several years earlier, *De leg.* i. 2. 6: ". . . si aut ad Fabium aut ad *eum, qui tibi semper in ore est, Catonem,* aut ad Pisonem . . . venias." The thought-link between the two passages is the mention of the elder Cato, together with the fact that Cicero himself is being addressed in each case. Otherwise the two contexts are entirely different.

More numerous are the instances of what I have called "contextual" repetition, in which a word or phrase or syntactical pattern is repeated after a very short interval. So many variable factors may contribute to the appearance of this kind of psychological phenomenon—the writer's momentary state of alertness or inattention, the speed at which he is writing, the presence or absence of distracting circumstances, the accidental prominence which a particular word may obtain in a particular person's mind on a particular occasion—that no certain classification is possible. But we may, for convenience, group the examples which follow under

headings which describe what seem to have been the predominant factors. It must be remembered that these "categories" are not mutually exclusive and that many cases of repetition are clearly the product of several factors at once.

A. SINGLE WORDS AND PHRASES

1. *Verbal persistence.*—A single word or phrase persists in the writer's mind by its own force, independently of any sense-recurrence. It need not be an unusual word; indeed, as Cook rightly points out, the fact that a word or phrase is unusual or striking raises it to the level of conscious thought.[4] It may, however, be a word which, though not in itself unusual, is not frequently used by the writer himself.

Epp. ad Att.

i. 18. 1: . . . quae mihi videor aures *nactus* tuas unius ambulationis sermone exhaurire posse.

2: . . . in qua ego *nactus*, ut mihi videbar, locum resecandae libidinis et coercendae iuventutis vehemens fui. . . .

A precisely similar repetition of this same word within a few lines is found in another letter to Atticus (xvi. 2. 6), and this is the more remarkable in that the participle *nactus* is used only fourteen times in the whole of Cicero's correspondence.[5]

De off.

iii. 118: atque in his tamen tribus generibus *quoquo modo possunt* non incallide tergiversantur.

(5 lines below): etiam temperantiam inducunt non facillime illi quidem, sed tamen *quoquo modo possunt.*

According to Merguet, *quoquo modo* is used nine times in Cicero's philosophical works, in two instances the reading being uncertain.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

[5] I rely here on the *Index* of Oldfather, Canter, and Abbott.

De fin.

v. 3: . . . sed veteris proverbii *admonitu* vivorum memini.

4 (7 lines below): . . . ut acrius aliquanto et attentius de claris viris locorum *admonitu* cogitemus.

Only five instances of this word are noted in the philosophical writings.

De div.

i. 55: *exin* cuidam rustico dormienti visus est venire, qui diceret . . . [3 lines] . . . *exin* filium eius esse mortuum.

Merguet lists only five instances of this word in the philosophical works.

De fin.

iv. 65: his similes sunt omnes qui virtuti *student;* levantur vitiis, levantur erroribus, nisi forte censes Ti. Gracchum patrem ⟨non⟩ beatiorem fuisse quam filium, cum alter stabilire rem publicam *studuerit*, alter evertere. nec tamen ille erat sapiens—quis enim hoc aut quando aut ubi aut unde?—; sed quia *studebat* laudi et dignitati, multum in virtute processerat.

Here the predominantly verbal character of the repetition is seen from the fact that, when the word is used for the second time, it is in an entirely different construction.

But examples may be found of verbal persistence, in which the word or phrase repeated has no element of infrequency about it.

De domo sua

15: . . . qui, quod in meo reditu spes oti et concordiae sita videbatur, in discessu autem cotidianus seditionis timor, iam paene belli *depulso* metu commutatam annonam esse dicebant; . . . [2 lines]. . . . ego denique non solum ab operis tuis impulsu tuo nominabar, sed etiam, *depulsis* ac dissipatis tuis copiis, a populo universo . . . in senatum nominatim vocabar.

The use of the word *impulsu* may here be in part responsible for the emergence of *depulsis.*

De fin.

v. 12: . . . cuius accurate scripti de moribus libri dicuntur *illi quidem* esse Aristoteli, sed non video, cur non potuerit patri similis esse filius.

13 (5 lines): namque horum posteri meliores *illi quidem* mea sententia quam reliquarum philosophi disciplinarum, sed ita degenerant, ut ipsi ex se nati esse videantur.

Similarly, in *De fin.* iii. 59, a passage of eighteen Teubner lines, *quoniam* is used four times; two lines separate the first two occurrences, three lines the third and fourth.

2. *Repetition entailed by sense-recurrence.*—We encounter more examples, as is to be expected, of repetition in which, as in the case of the "echo," the recurrence of an idea has brought with it a word or phrase used previously.

De off.

iii. 112: . . . magnus vir *in primis* et qui perindulgens in patrem idem acerbe severus in filium.

113: nam Polybius, bonus auctor *in primis*. . . .

De har. resp.

41: Ti. Gracchus convellit statum civitatis, qua *gravitate* vir, *qua eloquentia*, qua dignitate. . . .

(2 lines below): secutus est C. Gracchus, quo ingenio, *qua eloquentia*, quanta vi, quanta *gravitate* dicendi.

Pro Flacco

46: . . . pecuniam sumpsit mutuam a Sex. Stloga iudice hoc nostro, *primario viro*, qui et rem agnoscit neque hominem ignorat. . . . ei cum solveret, sumpsit a C. M. Fufiis, equitibus Romanis, *primariis viris*.

There is an echo in 50: "petit Heraclides a C. Plotio senatore, *primario viro*."

Pro Sestio

134: norat studia populi, videbat clamores et concursus futuros. hac expectatione *elatus* homo flagrans cupiditate gloriae tenere se non potuit quin eos gladiatores induceret, quorum esset ipse pulcherrimus. si ob eam causam peccaret, pro recenti populi Romani in se beneficio populari studio *elatus* tamen ignosceret nemo.

Phil.

v. 31: quam ob rem, patres conscripti, legatorum mentionem nullam censeo faciendam; rem administrandam arbitror sine ulla mora et *confestim* gerendam.

33: . . . bello, inquam, decertandum est idque *confestim*.

Merguet cites only six other instances of this adverb in the speeches.

Pro Mur.

31: . . . quam laudem ille *Africa oppressa* cognomine ipso prae se ferebat, eandem hic sibi ex Asiae nomine adsumpsit.

32: . . . cum ipse paulo ante Hannibale ex Italia expulso ex Africa eiecto, *Carthagine oppressa* maximis periculis rem publicam liberasset. . . .

TD

v. 16: quid? elatus ille levitate inanique laetitia *exultans* et temere gestiens nonne tanto miserior, quanto sibi videtur beatior? ergo ut hi miseri, sic contra illi beati, quos nulli metus terrent, nullae aegritudines exedunt, nullae libidines incitant, nullae futtiles laetitiae *exultantes* languidis liquefaciunt voluptatibus.

De fin.

i. 1: nam quibusdam, *et iis quidem* non admodum indoctis totum hoc displicet philosophari.

(3 lines below): erunt etiam, *et ii quidem* eruditi Graecis litteris, contemnentes Latinas, qui se dicant in Graecis legendis operam malle consumere.

De invent.

ii. 120: eo enim *non adscripto* nihil esset dubitationis, quin heres quae ipse vellet daret. amentiae igitur fuisse cum heredi vellet cavere id adscribere, quo *non adscripto* nihilominus heredi caveretur.

Here the interesting feature is not the repetition of the word *adscribere*, which in this semitechnical language is quite natural. But both the ablatives absolute in which it appears are used with conditional force, and, though this usage is not rare in Cicero, the occurrence of two instances within three lines is sufficiently striking.

De fin.

iii. 58: . . . est enim aliquid in his rebus probabile, *et quidem ita, ut* eius ratio reddi possit. . . .

(7 lines below): est autem eius generis actio quoque quaedam, *et quidem talis, ut* ratio postulet agere aliquid et facere eorum.

A further element is present in the last example. The thought-recurrence has brought a repetition not only of a particular phrase but of the general sentence-pattern. Instances of this type will form the next group.

B. CLAUSE-PATTERN (WITH OR WITHOUT VERBAL REPETITION)

Not infrequently we encounter passages in which not only a word or phrase has been repeated but also the syntactical pattern of a whole clause. In such cases it is not easy to decide whether clause-pattern has entailed verbal repetition, or vice versa, or whether both together have been entailed by thought-recurrence. Sometimes clause-pattern is repeated without verbal repetition. Instances of this are, of course, less easy to detect, and I suspect that they are, in fact, more numerous than might be supposed.

Pro Planc.

1: *cum* propter egregiam et singularem Cn. Planci, iudices, in mea salute custodienda fidem tam multos et bonos viros eius *honori viderem* **esse fautores,** capiebam animo non mediocrem voluptatem. . . . *cum* autem aud*irem* meos partim inimicos, partim invidos huic accusati*oni* **esse fautores.** . . .

This passage is instructive, for it illustrates how the repetition of clause-pattern, which is here deliberate and rhetorical, has entailed the subconscious (as I believe) verbal repetition *esse fautores*.

De har. resp.

45: *quod* anno ante *frater* Metellus et concors etiam tum senatus, senatus principe Cn. Pompeio sententiam dicente, **excluserat** acerrimeque una voce ac mente restiterat, *id* post discidium optimatium, de quo ipso nunc monemur, ita perturbatum itaque permutatum est ut, *quod frater* consul ne fieret obstiterat, *quod* adfinis et sodalis clarissimus vir, qui illum reum non laudarat, **excluserat,** *id* is consul efficeret. . . .

The order of the verbs, "excluserat . . . restiterat . . . obstiterat . . . excluserat," might suggest (though it is no more than a suggestion) that the evidently subconscious repetition of clause-pattern has been entailed by thought-recurrence and, in its turn, has produced the verbal repetition *excluserat*.

Pro Sulla

75: . . . *ex* multis ab adulescentia collectis perditorum hominum vitiis **repente ista** tanta importunitas inauditi sceleris *exarsit*.

76: *ex* magnis et diuturnis et iam desperatis rei publicae morbis **ista repente** vis *erupit*. . . .

The thought-recurrence, in a different metaphor, has brought repetition of phrase and clause-pattern together.

The two passages which follow illustrate the subconscious repetition of clause-pattern alone.

De har. resp.

6–7: solus ille cognovit quem ad modum armatum civem . . . *non modo* vinci *verum etiam* vinciri oporteret. huic ego . . . numquam mea voluntate praeripiam eum

praesertim reum cuius ille inimicitias *non solum* suscepit propter salutem meam, *verum etiam* adpetivit.[6]

Pro Cluent.

179: tum interim Q. Hortensio Q. Metello consulibus *ut* hunc Oppianicum aliud *agentem* ac nihil eius modi *cogitantem* ad hanc accusationem *detraheret*, invito despondit ei filiam suam, illam quam ex genero susceperat, *ut* eum nuptiis *adligatum* simul et testamenti spe *devinctum posset* habere in potestate.

In the above period there are two purpose clauses, both expressed by *ut* with the subjunctive and both containing two participles in agreement with the object. There is no parallelism or antithesis in the sense: the second clause resumes and amplifies the first, and for this reason, if for no other, the identity of clause-pattern cannot have been deliberately sought.

Pro Balbo

53: **cognoscite nunc** populi Romani *iudicium* multis rebus interpositum atque in maximis causis re ipsa atque usu *comprobatum*.
55: **cognoscite nunc** *iudicium* senatus, quod semper iudicio est populi *comprobatum*.

ND

ii. 53: . . . quae *anno* fere vertente *signiferum lustrat orbem neque a sole* longius *umquam* unius signi *intervallo discedit* **tum antevertens tum subsequens.**

(Following period): . . . ea cursum *anno* conficit et latitudinem *lustrans signiferi orbis* et longitudinem . . . *neque umquam ab sole* duorum signorum *intervallo discedit* **tum antecedens tum subsequens.**

These two examples—the former is on the way to becoming an "echo"—show a new element which will concern us in the next group, the special tendency of a word or words in the clausula to be subconsciously repeated. In the former example it is difficult to say whether *cognoscite nunc* or *comprobatum* operated more strongly to reproduce the pattern of the sentence; but in the latter it is reasonably certain that it was the dominance in Cicero's mind of the phrase in the clausula which entailed the virtual repetition of the whole of the latter part of the period which it concluded.

C. REPETITION OF CLAUSULA

Repetitions of this type involve the word or phrase which forms (or ends) the clausula, either by itself or with associated clause-pattern. It may be either a merely verbal repetition or partially entailed by thought-recurrence, but in any case the position of the word or phrase has been chiefly responsible for its persistence.

TD

v. 97: Darius in fuga cum aquam turbidam et cadaveribus inquinatam bibisset, negavit umquam se bibisse *iucundius*. numquam videlicet sitiens biberat. nec esuriens Ptolomaeus ederat; cui cum peragranti Aegyptum comitibus non consecutis cibarius in casa panis datus esset, nihil visum est illo pane *iucundius*.

In this repetition sound has played a larger part than sense, for the first *iucundius* is an adverb, the second an adjective.

Pro Rosc. Amer.

9: his de rebus tantis tamque atrocibus neque satis me commode dicere neque satis graviter conqueri neque satis libere vociferari *posse intellego*.
10 (6 lines): fide sapientiaque vestra fretus plus oneris sustuli quam ferre me *posse intellego*.

This is another instance of sound-persistence; on its second occurrence the clausula does not altogether suit the natural sense of the passage, which is rather: "plus me oneris, quam ferre possum, sustulisse intellego."

[6] One might regard *verum etiam* as verbal repetition, but, as there would be only one alternative in any case, it seems more likely that it was accidental to the recurrence of the pattern.

More often the repeated clausula brings with it associated words or constructions.

De domo sua

87: . . . tuum scelus meum *probrum putas* **esse oportere?**

88: nemo tam esset amens qui mihi tale populi iudicium non dignitati potius quam *dedecori putaret* **esse oportere.**

De leg.

ii. 8: ita principem legem illam et ultimam mentem esse dicebat omnia ratione *aut cogentis aut vet***antis dei.**

9: . . . quae vis non modo senior est quam aetas populorum et civitatum, sed aequalis illius caelum atque terras *tuentis et reg***entis dei.**

Here, when Cicero comes to use the word *dei* for the second time, he reproduces both the rhythmical and the syntactical pattern of the clausula in which it has previously occurred. Deliberate repetition seems to me to be out of the question.

TD

v. 15: quis enim *potest* mortem aut dolorem metuens, quorum alterum saepe adest, alterum semper impendet, **esse non miser?**

16: . . . qui rebus his fractus aegritudine eliditur, *potest* tandem **esse non miserrimus?**

The presence of *tandem* and the slight variation in the clausula of the second passage might suggest that here the repetition is conscious, but a careful reading of the whole context leaves me in little doubt that this, too, is the result of a subconscious process.

Post red. ad quir.

14: itaque neque re publica exterminata mihi locum in hac urbe esse duxi, nec, si illa restitueretur, *dubitavi quin* me secum ipsa **reduceret.**

(Next period): . . . *dubitarem quin* is *me* confectum consularibus vulneribus consulari medicina ad salutem **reduceret?**

Pro Planc.

26: Plancio, quod me vel vi pulsum vel ratione cedentem receperit, iuverit, custodierit, his et senatui populoque Romano, ut haberent quem reducerent, conservarit, *honori* hanc fidem, misericordiam, virtutem **fuisse miraris?** vitia me hercule Cn. Planci res eae de quibus dixi tegere potuerunt, ne tu in ea vita de qua iam dicam tot et tanta adiumenta huic *honori* **fuisse mirere.**

This brief survey of the occurrence of subconscious repetition in Cicero may be brought to an end with a particularly interesting example, involving both "contextual" repetition and "echo." It appears in the fifth and sixth books of the letters to Atticus. Cicero is referring with pride to the justice and integrity of his provincial administration.

Ad Att.

v. 21. 5: cave putes quicquam homines magis umquam esse miratos quam *nullum teruncium me obtinente provinciam* sumptus factum esse.

21. 7: . . . qua ex insula—*non ὑπερβολικῶς sed verissime loquor—nummus nullus me obtinente erogabitur.*

This was written on February 13, 50 B.C. Eleven days later there is an echo:

Ad Att.

vi. 1. 2: quid enim potest esse tam dissimile quam illo imperante exhaustam esse sumptibus et iacturis provinciam, *nobis eam obtinentibus nummum nullum esse erogatum.*

Three months later:

Ad Att.

vi. 2. 4: . . . quod omnino nullus in imperio meo sumptus factus est—nullum cum dico, *non loquor ὑπερβολικῶς—nullus, inquam, ne terruncius quidem.*

In the last passage, while the unconscious reminiscence is less accurate as a whole, it

has brought with it another "echo"—*non loquor ὑπερβολικῶς.*

II. SUBCONSCIOUS REPETITION AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM

If the examples which I have assembled are sufficient to show that this psychological phenomenon is a reality in the ancient writers, and perhaps not so rare as might have been supposed, the fact is of some importance. For not only do such repetitions give us a more intimate glimpse of the mind of an ancient writer at work, but they have a real, if subordinate, part to play in textual criticism. A reading is not necessarily to be condemned because the same word or phrase is used in the immediate context. On the contrary, if a reading is supported on other grounds, the fact that it involves repetition may be an additional argument in its favor. The ancient scribe, that much-maligned creature, was perhaps not guilty of quite so many blunders and interpolations as some editors have attributed to him. The limits within which the factor may be invoked are modest but wider than Cook suggests,[7] as I shall try to show. Some editors, as Peterson in his Oxford texts of Cicero, have occasionally made use of the unconscious "echo," as well as of the deliberate reminiscence; and Cyril Bailey, in his recent edition of Lucretius, draws attention to the textual bearing of the phenomenon.[8] But the relevance of "contextual" repetition, as a factor to be reckoned with by the editor or critic, has not received the attention which it deserves.

I shall offer some examples from Cicero and other writers, to illustrate the small, but by no means negligible, contribution which the recognition of subconscious repetition can make toward the establishment of a reading.

Pro Caelio

54: . . . qui tantum *facinus* in famam atque in fortunas suas neque non audisset *inlatum* a M. Caelio neque neglexisset neque tulisset. an ille vir illa humanitate praeditus, illis studiis, illis artibus atque doctrina illius ipsius periculum quem propter haec ipsa studia diligebat, neglegere potuisset, et, quod *facinus* in alienum hominem *intentum* severe acciperet, id omisisset curare in hospitem?

intentum *T:* inlatum *Pπδ*

The fact that it is repetitious does not rule out the possibility that *inlatum* is here the right reading.

Post red. in sen.

30: vobis vero, patres conscripti, singulis et egi et agam gratias: universis egi initio, quantum potui, satis ornate agere *nullo modo possum.* et quamquam sunt in me praecipua merita multorum, quae *sileri nullo modo possunt,* tamen huius temporis ac timoris mei non est conari commemorare beneficia in me singulorum.

sileri *P^cH:* silere *P^1GE:* possum *E*

Here *silere* has the weight of manuscript support, including the first hand of P, and there is some authority for *possum.* In view of the similar passages which we have already observed, it seems likely that what Cicero wrote was "silere nullo modo possum."

Pro Caelio

67: praegestit animus iam videre . . . fortis viros ab imperatrice in insidiis atque in praesidio balnearum *collocatos.*

collocatos *T:* locatos *Pπδ*

Klotz in his Teubner edition adopts *locatos,* but the reading of T is confirmed by the fact that the proceeding has recently been twice described by the same verb, and by the same form of it: "fuerant ad

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

[8] *Lucretius*, I, 145: "This semi-conscious running of phrases in the poet's mind may sometimes be adduced to determine the text of a doubtful passage." Bailey is thinking primarily of the "echo." So also F.W. Hall, "Repetitions and Obsessions in Plautus," *CQ*, XX (1926), 20–26.

hanc rem collocati" (64); "quo loco collocati fuerant" (65).

De domo sua

35-36: . . . factus es eius filius contra fas cuius *per aetatem* pater esse potuisti. dico apud pontifices: nego istam adoptionem pontificio iure esse factam: primum quod eae vestrae sunt aetates ut is qui te adoptavit vel fili tibi loco *per aetatem* esse potuerit, vel eo quo fuit: e.q.s.

The second *per aetatem* was suspected by D. Serruys, but without justification. If Cicero repeated the words unconsciously, it was a natural repetition, entailed by thought-recurrence, such as we have seen illustrated by a number of examples.

I come now to a difficult passage, which I approach with the more trepidation because it will be necessary to call into question the authority of Madvig.

De fin.

iii. 35: nec vero perturbationes animorum, quae vitam insipientium miseram acerbamque reddunt, quas Graeci πάθη appellant—poteram ego verbum ipsum interpretans morbos appellare, sed non conveniret ad omnia; quis enim misericordiam aut ipsam iracundiam morbum solet dicere? at illi dicunt πάθος. sit igitur perturbatio, quae nomine ipso vitiosa declarari videtur [*nec eae perturbationes vi aliqua naturali moventur.*] *omnesque eae sunt* genere quattuor, partibus plures, aegritudo, formido, libido, quamque Stoici communi nomine corporis et animi ἡδονήν appellant, ego malo laetitiam appellare quasi gestiens animi elationem voluptariam. *perturbationes autem nulla naturae vi commoventur, omniaque ea sunt* opiniones ac iudicia levitatis. itaque his sapiens semper vacabit.

The bracketed words were condemned by Madvig[9] as having been written not by Cicero but by someone who was trying to complete the main sentence without having paid sufficient attention to the whole passage. Madvig, whose views have been generally adopted, maintains (1) That we cannot regard the parenthesis which begins with the words *quas Graeci* . . . as ending at *declarari videtur* because, if that were so, the interrupted sentence would be resumed not by *nec eae* but rather by *eae igitur* . . . *non* . . . , or the like, and also because the main clause would then interrupt the description of the names and of the species of *perturbationes* which should be continuous. "Itaque," says Madvig, "perversissime in mediam hanc progressionem sententiarum illa intericiuntur: *nec eae* cet." (2) That the words cannot stand because the same thought is more fully expressed a few lines below, and in such a way that it cannot have been said before, the *autem* implying transition to a fresh point.

Madvig's own view is that in *nec vero perturbationes* the nominative is suspended and is not resumed by *perturbationes autem* . . . , which is attached to the immediately preceding words: i.e., that the intended statement is not that emotions are not aroused by any natural influence but that the *sapiens* is free from them; the length of the parenthetic digression has caused the grammatical structure of the main sentence to be forgotten.

It must be admitted at once that the whole passage, with its long and clumsy digression, shows signs of being in an unfinished and unrevised state. But it may be questioned whether, by excising the bracketed phrase, we are not attributing to Cicero a monstrous parenthesis and a *nominativus pendens* which he did not perpetrate. I shall, with diffidence, put forward an interpretation which would account both for *autem* and for the repetition of the thought. I shall then (less diffidently) support my argument with an appeal to subconscious repetition.

[9] Edition of *De finibus*, pp. 403–4.

I suggest that in *perturbationes autem* ... and *itaque his* ... we have, respectively, the minor premise and the conclusion of a syllogism. (The fact that *autem* and *itaque* [*igitur*] are regularly used in this way is too familiar to need illustration.) What, then, is the syllogism, and where is the major premise? The major premise is contained by implication in the sections immediately preceding 35, and the syllogism might be simplified as follows: "The wise man will live according to nature; emotions are not caused by nature; therefore the wise man will be free from emotions." For the minor premise to be stated thus categorically as a member of the syllogism, it needs to have been explained and amplified, and this, in turn, implies a previous expression of the thought. What Cicero doubtless intended to say was: "nec vero perturbationes animorum, quae vitam insipientium miseram acerbamque reddunt, vi aliqua naturali moventur." But he felt himself driven to justify his translation of *πάθος*, and this parenthesis displaced the description of the various species, which is now added in an appended co-ordinate clause. This, in turn, makes it necessary to repeat the main thought in order to give logical force to the conclusion—"itaque his sapiens semper vacabit." The difficulty of *nec* used to resume the main sentence still remains. It is certainly unusual, but one wonders whether Madvig is justified in stating so positively that it is impossible.

The above explanation is offered tentatively; the passage seems clearly to be in unfinished shape. But we can invoke subconscious repetition to show, with something approaching certainty, that, whatever the right interpretation of the passage, the words *nec eae* ... were written by Cicero and occupied the same position which they hold in the received text. In the first place, the second enunciation of the thought shows that slight verbal variation which is characteristic of a writer who is conscious, or half-conscious, that he has recently expressed the same idea. But here the phrase, on its second appearance, has brought with it a *subconscious* repetition. *Moventur* is followed by the words *omnesque eae sunt;* after *commoventur* we find *omniaque ea sunt.* It is obvious that the repetition of these three words cannot be deliberate; and the supposition that an interpolator accidentally produced the phenomenon involves a coincidence hard to believe. We must conclude that Cicero wrote the disputed words, and wrote them where they stand.

De domo sua

69: nam legem quidem istam *nullam esse, quotienscumque de me* senatus sententiam dixit, *totiens iudicavit.* quoniam quidem scripto illo istius sententiam dicere vetabatur, atque hanc rem par illud simile, Piso et Gabinius, vidit, homines legum iudiciorumque metuentes, cum frequentissimus senatus eos ut de me referrent cotidie flagitarent, non se rem improbare dicebant, sed lege istius impediri.

Halm, supported by Zielinski[10] and followed by Peterson, made the period *nam legem* ... end with *iudicavit.* Klotz adopts the punctuation of the Rome edition of 1471, putting a comma after *iudicavit* and bringing the period to an end with *vetabatur;* in his note he observes: "non bene coniunguntur *quoniam* ... *vetabatur atque vidit.*" But shortly afterward we find:

70: ... eam *nullam esse* frater P. Clodi, cum *de me* ad senatum tecum una rettulit, *iudicavit.* sed vero isti qui Clodi leges timuerunt, quem ad modum ceteras observarunt? senatus quidem, cuius est gra-

[10] *Clauselgesetz*, p. 206.

vissimum iudicium de iure legum, *quotienscumque de me* consultus est, *totiens eam nullam esse iudicavit.*

Remembering the tendency of a word in the clausula to recur in that position, we may regard Halm's punctuation as being further corroborated.

I add a few examples outside Cicero.

Caesar *BC*

ii. 21. 4: ipse eis navibus quas M. Varro quasque Gaditani *iussu* Varronis fecerant Tarraconem paucis diebus pervenit.

22. 3: hunc conspicatae naves, quae *missu* Bruti consuetudine cotidiana ad portum excubabant, sublatis ancoris sequi coeperunt.

O (Meusel) iussu[11]

The edition of Kraner-Hofmann-Meusel adopts the reading *iussu* on the ground that *missu* is not elsewhere found with verbs implying rest. We are justified in invoking subconscious repetition to give additional support to *iussu* (cf. *De fin.* v. 3, above).

De bello Alex.

37. 5: perfecit inceptum castrorum opus Domitius parte copiarum pro vallo *instituta.*

Nipperdey conjectured *constituta.* But five lines earlier we have a sentence which ends: ". . . Pharnaces aciem instruit suo more atque *instituto.*" It may well be that verbal persistence has taken place and that the manuscript tradition is sound.

[11] The Oxford text does not record this variant.

De bello Alex.

61. 2: itaque cum *castra castris collocata* essent et Marcellus locum idoneum castello cepisset. . . .

collata—*Stephanus*

61. 4: hunc Marcellus insequitur et quam proxime potest Uliam *castra castris confert.*

The conjecture of Stephanus tends to be confirmed. Deliberate repetition is not out of the question here, but the proximity of the name *Marcellus* in both passages hints at a subconscious process.

I have not attempted to collect examples in verse, though, as I have said, I believe that, subject to metrical limitations, many instances could readily be found (see Bailey, *loc. cit.*, on Lucretius). I have noted the following, however, in the first hundred lines of Catullus 64:

14: candenti e gurgite vultus
18: exstantes e gurgite cano

27: concessit amores
29: concessit ducere neptem

32: tota frequentat
37: tecta frequentant

94: heu misere exagitans inmiti *corde furores*

corda furore—*Ramler*

99: quantos illa tulit languenti *corde timores*

Subconscious repetition favors the reading in which the verbal parallel is stronger and therefore lessens the force of Ramler's conjecture.

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

DEGRASSI'S EDITION OF THE CONSULAR AND TRIUMPHAL FASTI*

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

A PLAN for a complete new publication of all Latin inscriptions of the classical period found in Italy was announced by the Union of Italian Academies twenty years ago. The publication was to provide full photographic reproductions such as are available only in the most recent issues of the *Corpus* of Latin Inscriptions. Of the volumes of this new *Inscriptiones Italiae*, numbered according to the Augustan regions of Italy, a few fascicles from certain sites have appeared —from Volume I, Tibur (1936); from Volume IX, Augusta Bagiennorum and Pollentia (1948); from Volume X, Parentium (1934), Histria Septentrionalis (1936), Pola and Nesactium (1947); from Volume XI, Eporedia (1931), and Augusta Praetoria (1932). Further material from Volume X and from one or two other sites is now ready for publication, but there are no plans in prospect now for the completion of the whole project.

By far the most important and difficult material in the entire undertaking was presented by the consular and triumphal *fasti*, the calendars, and the *elogia*, first brought out in *CIL*, I by Mommsen and Henzen in 1863 and later published in a second edition by Mommsen and Huelsen in 1893. In later years there have been significant new discoveries, and there was a crying need for a new edition illustrated by photographs.

The publication of these important documents, assigned to Volume XIII of the *Inscriptiones Italiae*, was entrusted to Professor Attilio Degrassi, who had already prepared for the series a portion of the inscriptions of his native Istria (Parentium and Histria Septentrionalis). There could not have been a more fortunate choice of editor, for Degrassi is a remarkable epigraphist, trained in the traditions of the most extraordinary work of co-operative scholarship in the classical field, Mommsen's great *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Both at the University of Vienna and in the field Degrassi worked under one of Mommsen's ablest coadjutors, Eugen Bormann, editor of *CIL*, XI, and he has been able to combine the care and ingenuity that has characterized the best of Latin epigraphists with the modern methods made available through the resources of the Italian Academies.

Degrassi began his task in 1935. Not having a university appointment (which is to be regretted, for he ought to be training a new generation of epigraphists), he was able to put his entire time on the investigation. He read every stone himself and searched out every manuscript record of lost stones. He mastered the vast scholarly literature on the inscriptions. The *elogia*, increased in scope by the discoveries in the Forum of Augustus, came out in 1937. The work on the calendars is completed but still awaits publication. The fascicle dealing with consular and triumphal *fasti*, with which I am concerned in this paper, came out late in 1947. Fascicle is a very modest term for

* In the preparation of this article I have depended, particularly for architectural details, on a joint paper written in 1945 by Professor L. B. Holland and me, but not published for reasons explained in the article. I was also aided by a discussion in the Forum which he and I and Professor Frank Brown had in July 1949 with Professor Degrassi, and with the Director of Antiquities of the Forum and Palatine, Dr. Pietro Romanelli, and the architect Italo Gismondi. Professor Holland will publish a note elsewhere on the results of that discussion and of the investigation of the foundations of the Arch of Augustus carried out at that time. For suggestions on other points in the article I am under obligation to Professor Degrassi and also to my colleague Professor T. R. S. Broughton.

this large publication issued in two parts which should, for convenient use, be bound separately.[1]

The fascicle is beautifully printed on good paper, imported, Degrassi tells me, from the United States. The printer has done his difficult job well, though Degrassi states that in some particulars the art of printing inscriptions has declined. I remembered that many years ago Dessau had made a similar comment to me about the problem of printing *CIL*, XIII in Germany, and I asked Degrassi for an explanation. The difficulty, he says, is not with the printer's art but with the funds available for the printer's work.

There are excellent photographs of all the inscriptions and sometimes photographs of squeezes which show the letters more clearly than the stones do. There are also numerous drawings in the text and plates, a valuable adjunct to the photographs. The architectural drawings are in most cases the work of Dr. Guglielmo Gatti, architect and archaeologist, now Inspector of Antiquities in Rome. Other drawings are the work of Achilles Capizzano, Rosa Falconi, and Severino Brusa. These illustrations are supplemented by full information on measurements and character of the stone or marble used for the inscriptions—important details that were ignored in the earlier volumes of *CIL*.

The text, written in easy intelligible Latin, has full commentaries on all the inscriptions, with bibliography that is up to date until the beginning of the war and includes German and Italian publications after that date.[2] The views of other scholars are considered fairly and dispassionately, and the conclusions are independent and worthy of the most careful consideration. I would note for instance the explanation (p. 142) of the omission of the *praenomen* of M.' Aemilius' grandfather. The material is arranged with remarkable understanding of the needs of the reader.

One of the most valuable features of the volume is the new version of Mommsen's conspectus of the evidence for consuls under each year. In addition to the material from the stones, from the derivatives of the *Fasti Capitolini*, and from the historians, all of which was presented by Mommsen, there is a heading, *alia testimonia*, which gives, besides most of the available literary evidence, quotations from inscriptions, many of which have come to light since 1893.[3]

Of no less importance for the scholar are the indices that seem to have foreseen every need for which I have so often gone through *CIL*, I. In addition to lists of *nomina* and *cognomina* there are both alphabetical and chronological lists (in which it is a pleasure to have B.C. dates given preference over *a. u. c.*) of chief magistrates, including *consules suffecti*, of magistrates who died in office, who abdicated, who were *vitio creati*, of the various types of magistrates who triumphed, of dates of triumphs, and of contradictions between various sets of records.

Naturally the greatest interest attaches to the consular and triumphal lists inscribed under Augustus on a building in the Roman Forum. These lists, known from the fact that they are in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill as

[1] *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Vol. XIII, Fasc. i: *Fasti consulares et triumphales* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1947). Part 1, pp. 572; Part 2, *Tabulae* CIV, *Indices*, pp. 581–678.

[2] As a minor criticism I would suggest that much space could have been saved by use (as in *CIL*) of Arabic instead of Roman numerals and by abbreviation in the form of references, notably to the *Real-encyclopädie*. Except for the supplementary volumes the use of volume numbers in referring to that work should be abolished. Scholars usually consult it by the aid of the alphabet.

[3] For the historians there are full citations of manuscript variants available in recent editions, such as the Conway-Walters Livy and Drachmann's text of the Roman annals of Diodorus. In preparing the section headed *alia testimonia* Degrassi (see p. 347) has used the works of Costa and Vaglieri and has added much material from inscriptions.

the Capitoline *Fasti*, far surpass in extent and significance any other inscribed list of magistrates. It is with Degrassi's view of the monument to which these *Fasti* belonged and with the date when they were inscribed that I am mainly concerned in this article. But before proceeding to the discussion I shall consider briefly other consular[4] and triumphal *fasti* published by Degrassi.

Whereas in the second edition of *CIL*, I Mommsen and Huelsen included with the Capitoline *Fasti* seventeen other consular and triumphal lists, Degrasssi includes thirty-five. Not all of them are new, for he did not, like the editors of *CIL*, exclude from his volume post-Augustan records. But there is also a good deal of material both from new lists and from new fragments of old lists discovered since 1893. The most significant new records are the consular lists (and calendar) from Antium, painted on plaster, the *Fasti Ostienses* and the *fasti* set up in Rome by *vicorum magistri* of the Aventine. The painted *fasti* of Antium, the only republican consular lists that we possess, are a valuable record of consuls and censors of many years in the period 164–84 B.C. Particularly on the censors they provide important new information. The *Fasti Ostienses*, a few fragments of which were known before 1893, now number forty-two fragments, (including the fragment in Degrassi's "Additamenta," pp. 571 f.), most of which have come to light in the excavations of Ostia during the last forty years. They cover large sections of the period from 49 B.C. to A.D. 160. These inscriptions are a mine of information for imperial chronology, particularly for the period from Domitian to Antoninus Pius. Degrassi has presented the first complete collection of the inscriptions accompanied by an admirable commentary. He is a master of imperial as well as of republican prosopography. The *fasti* from the Aventine have provided much new material on *consules suffecti* of the Augustan period.

There is also a new fragment of a triumphal list, a stone from Urbisalvia, which, joined to a small fragment already known, covers certain years between 195 and 158 B.C. This is an important document, for it proves that municipalities sometimes set up lists of *triumphatores* as well as lists of chief magistrates. With good reason Degrassi (pp. 339 f.) disputes the view of Moretti and Altheim, who attributed these lists to an earlier period than the *Fasti Capitolini*. The use of Greek marble in these records provides strong reason for believing that they are not earlier than Augustus.

Nor are Degrassi's new contributions confined to new monuments. He has a very interesting discussion (pp. 143 f.) of the marble fragments of the *Fasti feriarum Latinarum* which were discovered in the precinct of Juppiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount. He argues against Henzen's reconstruction of the monument to which these *fasti* belonged, and presents his own tentative restoration. Noting that the fragment covering the years 27–22 differs in form of presentation from the fragments covering earlier years, he concludes that the monument had been inscribed before 27, but probably not long before that date. He also notes the differences between these *fasti* and the *Fasti Capitolini*.

To go back to the *Fasti Capitolini*, Degrassi's work has involved a thorough study of the seven new fragments that have come to light since 1893 and also of all the old fragments belonging to this, the most important record of consuls and tri-

[4] For the sake of brevity I shall use the term consular *fasti* for the list of chief magistrates, recognizing that the list also includes *decemviri*, military tribunes with consular power, dictators, masters of horse, and censors. I also use the term *fasti* for the triumphal lists, recognizing, as Degrassi does, that there is no ancient authority for the use.

umphs. There are new readings of some importance, for instance under the years 279 and 265 in the consular *fasti* and under 437 and 291 in the triumphal lists.

But the great discovery concerns the architectural character and the identification of the monument to which the *Fasti* belonged. The marble monument on which these lists were inscribed was found accidentally in 1546 somewhere between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the east side of the temple of Castor. It was discovered accidentally in 1546 in a search for marble to be used for lime. Cardinal Alexander Farnese heard about the inscribed fragments that were found, gathered together all of them that could be discovered, and had the site searched for additional stones. A decree of the Roman Consiglio of 1548, which Degrassi has found in the archives of the Campidoglio,[5] charged the epigraphist Gentile Delphino and Tommaso Cavalieri with the arrangement of stones in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In Degrassi's view Cavalieri was probably responsible for calling on Michelangelo, who designed the wall in which the fragments were placed. There were additional insertions of inscriptions in the wall after Carlo Fea in 1816–17 unearthed stones from both consular and triumphal *fasti* in an excavation beside the temple of Castor. Stones discovered later were placed in the Sala della Lupa, where the wall now is, or were stored in the *magazzino* of the Museum.

Through the co-operation of the Director of the Museum, Dr. Settimo Bocconi, Degrassi's work has resulted in a rearrangement of the material in the Museum. Stones from extraneous lists, erroneously inserted in the wall, have been removed and transferred to the Capitoline Museum.[6] Various fragments discovered since 1816 have been placed in the wall, and the other existing fragments are all now collected in the room. Thus all the stones can be studied together.

It was a great gain for Degrassi's work that he was able for purposes of study to have certain fragments removed temporarily from the wall. The examination of these fragments, in which Gatti cooperated with Degrassi, has led to important results for the character of the monument.

It was recognized by epigraphists of the time that Michelangelo's wall did not represent the monument that was discovered in the Forum. Onofrio Panvinio makes it clear that four "tablets" of consular *fasti* were found, three in fragmentary state, but one, the third tablet, in a much better state of preservation. That third tablet, the lower part of which is intact in the central portion of Michelangelo's wall, consists of a central *aedicula* with lists inside it of chief magistrates of the years 292–154, and with flanking pilasters on which were inscribed the *triumphatores* from Romulus to the year 222. The fourth tablet also had flanking pilasters on which were inscribed the names of *triumphatores* through the year 19 B.C. Tablets one and two, with lists of kings, consuls, and chief magistrates from the beginning of the Roman state, were not flanked by inscribed pilasters.

The careful work of Degrassi and Gatti has shown that Huelsen's calculations on the distribution of the material in the four tablets were incorrect in many details.[7] It is now clear that, contrary to the view of Huelsen, the four tablets were of equal height, and that all of them, and not sim-

[5] See his paper "Le sistemazioni dei Fasti Capitolini," *Capitolium*, XVIII, 2 (1943), 327–35.

[6] The *Fasti Colotiani* and *Biondiani*. See pp. 273, 291. The arrangement of the room in the Conservatori is fully discussed in the article cited in note 5.

[7] Degrassi prepared a restoration of the four tablets for the celebration of the Augustan Bimillenium in 1938. His reconstructions, which he would now alter in certain minor details, are reproduced on Plates XXIII–VI of the volume. Here too Gatti collaborated with Degrassi, and they have shown that Michelangelo's reconstruction was architecturally incorrect in various details.

ply the third and fourth, were enclosed in *aediculae*.

Degrassi's important new discovery concerns the building to which the *Fasti* belonged. It was not the Regia but the triple Arch of Augustus, whose foundations are preserved beside the temple of Divus Julius at the northeast corner of the temple of Castor. The inscriptions were in the two lateral openings of the triple arch; the third and fourth tablets with their inscribed pilasters are assumed to have been in the opening next to the temple of Divus Julius, while the first and second tablet are assigned to the other opening which was always at least partly blocked by the temple of Castor. Degrassi's discovery was not made until after the volumes were in proof. The evidence, briefly stated in the text, is fully discussed in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, XXI (1945–46), pp. 57–104; in an article that follows Degrassi's (pp. 105–22), Gatti discusses the reconstruction of the Arch of Augustus.

The suggestion that the tablets were on an arch is not new. It goes back to the architect, Pirro Ligorio, who as early as 1553 described the monument as a *Iano*. Ligorio, whose imagination was never limited by the evidence he had observed, restored a Janus Quadrifrons (Degrassi, *Rendiconti*, Figs. 1 and 2) inscribed inside the openings and outside with consular and triumphal records and other lists suggested to him by his active mind. The epigraphist Onofrio Panvinio also attributed the fragments to a *Iano*, but abandoned the idea in favor of his theory that the monument was the hemicycle of Verrius Flaccus.[8] The illustration that he published, of which I shall speak later, provides support for the theory of an arch. Carlo Fea, in the publication of his discoveries of 1816–17, accepted the view that the inscriptions belonged to an arch.[9] The Italian architect Luigi Canina took up the idea and published a reconstruction of the arch (Gatti, *Rendiconti*, Fig. 6). He placed the inscriptions on the outer face.

But the attribution of the *Fasti* to the Regia practically obliterated the memory of these earlier assignments of the inscriptions to an arch. This attribution, first proposed by Piale in 1832, was not seriously considered until Detlefsen, without knowledge of Piale's work, suggested it to Henzen when the two men were working on the first edition of *CIL*, I. Detlefsen was himself skeptical, but Henzen took up the idea and set forth his arguments fully in *CIL*, I, published in 1863. His views obtained general acceptance after Mommsen added his authority to the attribution. The Regia, where the *pontifex maximus* in earlier times posted each year a tablet giving names of magistrates and lists of important events, seemed eminently the right place for the official annalistic record of Rome. When in 1886 Nichols identified the remains of the Regia in front of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Huelsen, who had been working with Henzen on the revision of *CIL*, I and assumed charge of the work after Henzen's death, held firmly to the Regia as the place for the *Fasti*, and decided that Carlo Fea's discoveries beside the temple of Castor

[8] *Fastorum libri V a Romulo rege usque ad imp. Caesarem Carolum V Austrium Augustum*, Venice, 1558. (Copies of this rare book are to be found in this country in the libraries of the University of Illinois and of Bryn Mawr College.) Following the dedicatory letter to Cardinal Alexander Farnese, Panvinio discusses the authorship of the "tabulae Capitolinae." He decides on Verrius Flaccus. He accepts Pantagathus' emendation of Praeneste to Vestae in Suetonius, *De gram.* 17 ("statuam habet ⟨Verrius⟩ Praeneste in superiore fori parte circa hemicyclium in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo parieti incisos publicarat"). Panvinio, therefore, concludes that the *fasti* were on the hemicycle of Verrius Flaccus. In a passage overlooked by Henzen, Huelsen, and Degrassi, but noticed by Holland (see below), Panvinio makes it clear that he had originally shared the idea that the monument was a *Ianus:* "Atque hac ratione Fastorum Capitolinorum Auctor, formaque aedificii, quae in Hemicycli speciem erat, non Iani pervii, ut quibusdam placet, et ego aliquando credidi."

[9] For Henzen's misleading account of Fea's views see Degrassi, *Rendiconti*, p. 60, n. 10.

represented a dump of material that was not *in situ*. In the second edition of *CIL*, I and in subsequent articles published after new fragments of the *Fasti* were found, Huelsen presented his restorations of the Regia. There were, to be sure, some differences of opinion between Huelsen and Schön on the position that the *Fasti* were thought to occupy on the Regia, but no one any longer questioned the attribution. The inscriptions are constantly referred to as the *Fasti* of the Regia, and Huelsen's curious restorations of the Regia's wall have been widely reproduced in handbooks.

As far as I know, the first person in this century to doubt the attribution was Professor Frank Brown, and he did not put his doubts into print. As Fellow of the American Academy in Rome in 1931–33 Brown undertook a study of the Regia. Although he said nothing of the *Fasti* in his publication,[10] the careful reader can see that there is no place for the inscriptions on his reconstruction of the monument. Degrassi proved to be a very careful reader, and Brown's work on the Regia was important in leading him to his new view. Meantime I had had indirect reports of Brown's work and knew that he was disposed to assign the *Fasti* to the Arch of Augustus. My knowledge of Brown's ideas, confirmed by correspondence with him, contributed to the new dating of the *Fasti* (21–17 B.C.) which I proposed in a paper presented at the Philadelphia Archaeological Society in May 1945 and published in this journal in 1946.[11]

Professor Leicester B. Holland became interested in the architectural problem of the monument to which the *Fasti* could have belonged. He and I had prepared a joint article in which, with acknowledgment to Brown, we argued for the attribution of the *Fasti* to the arch, when in September 1945 I received a letter from Degrassi informing me of his new results. They had been announced the previous spring at the Pontifical Academy, and thus had priority over our findings, as well as the advantage of work on the spot and in archives not available to us. Our paper was not published; our work and Brown's contribution to it were referred to in generous terms in a note that Degrassi added to the proof of his article (*Rendiconti*, p. 104).

In reaching the conclusion that the *Fasti* were on the arch and not on the Regia, Degrassi, with more definite evidence than we had, was influenced by much the same considerations that led Holland and me to the same result:

1. There is no place for the *Fasti* on the Regia as interpreted by Brown. Huelsen's familiar restoration cannot be adapted to the remains of the building.

2. Two groups of fragments of the *Fasti*, for the discovery of which we have specific evidence, were found at the northeast corner of the temple of Castor. These include the fragments found by Carlo Fea in 1816–17 (the stones that Huelsen argued were not found *in situ*) and several other fragments discovered in 1872–73. For the spot where the first group came to light Degrassi cited a drawing of the architect Gau in a communication of Niebuhr to the Prussian Academy, dated March 26, 1817.[12] He might also have cited the star by which Fea on Plate II of his *Frammenti dei Fasti consolari e trionfali* (Rome, 1820) indicated the site of his finds.[13] For the discoveries of 1872–73 Degrassi has been able to produce

[10] *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XII (1935), 67–88.

[11] "The Date of the Capitoline Fasti," *CP*, XLI (1946), 1–11.

[12] A. Harnack, *Geschichte der preuss. Akademie*, II (1900), 389 ff.

[13] On this plate, as Holland notes, the figure 2 appears twice on the earth which covers the front line of the temple. In the description of the plate (p. cxxii) we find: "2. 2. Facciata del Tempio, unica versa la Via Sacra; e scala di nuova idea, a tre partite, la principale dritta nel mezzo; e due laterali, che poi andavano a riunirsi in alto. Incontro a questa furono trovati i primi Fasti. Ivi, e alquanto di fianco al piedestallo destro *, notai le terre, o calcinacci quasi crivellati."

unpublished archival material which proves definitely that the stones, including a fragment that Henzen and Huelsen attributed to the site of the Regia, were found close to the northeast corner of the temple of Castor.[14]

3. On no building to the northeast of the temple of Castor except the Arch of Augustus is it architecturally possible to restore the *Fasti*.

4. The foundations of the Arch of Augustus are on the very site where fragments of the *Fasti* were found in 1816–17 and again in 1872–73. Gau's drawing and Fea's star indicate that the spot where the stones came to

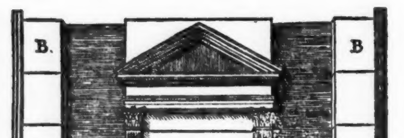

FIG. 1

light in 1816–17 corresponds to the north lateral opening of the arch. In 1546–47 sculptured decorations that would fit an arch were found in the excavation. Panvinio speaks of ornamental details[15] and Metellus is more explicit in his description of sculptures: *tanquam tropaea quaedam barbarorum, scuta pugiones et galeae et alia ornamenta.*[16] The section of the third tablet, with flanking pilasters, that forms the center of Michelangelo's wall, does not appear to be a part of a long wall such as he constructed or such as Huelsen posited for the Regia; it is rather an independent unit such as was assumed by Ligorio and also, as Holland realized, though Degrassi and Gatti did not, by the unknown man who made the drawing in Panvinio's publication of the *Fasti* (Fig. 1). The illustration is adapted to the idea that Panvinio originally had that the building was a *Iano*, and not to his later view that it was a *hemicyclium*.[17] The reproduction clearly shows a pylon with an engaged column just beyond the inscribed pilasters on either side.

As Degrassi and Gatti discovered, and as Holland concluded independently, the only place for the *Fasti* is inside the openings of the arch. As Gatti has shown, the width of the third tablet fits the lateral openings of the arch.[18] As Degrassi has recently pointed out,[19] a parallel for such inscriptional adornment of the passage-way of an arch is to be found in the quadrifront arch of A.D. 203 at Theveste.

Degrassi, aided by the important architectural contribution of Gatti, has proved beyond doubt that the Capitoline *Fasti* were in the lateral openings of the Arch of Augustus whose base stands beside the temple of Divus Julius. I have thought it worth while to add to the evidence he has presented the confirmation of the attribution which Holland found in the published work of Panvinio and Fea. The credit for the new discovery belongs partly to Brown. His study of the Regia, which, with the report of his unpublished results,

[14] See p. 6, note on Frag. XXVI; cf. *Rendiconti*, p. 87. Degrassi quotes the *Rapporto degli scavi del Foro Romano* in the Archivio di Stato. For a summary of all the evidence on the places where fragments were discovered see *Rendiconti*, p. 88.

[15] *Op. cit.*, 4th page, unnumbered, of introductory essay on the authorship of the *Fasti*: "Quum autem marmora illa crassissima fuissent, reliqua eorum pars quae ignem effugerat, in subtiles tabulas dissecta fuerat. In quibus quaedam barbara et penitus inepta ornamenta, avium, florum, pentagonorum, quos nodos Solomonis vocant, et similia incisa erant."

[16] For quotation of Metellus' statement, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 6039, f. 13, see Degrassi, *Rendiconti*, p. 90, n. 149; cf. Huelsen, *CIL*, I, 1^2, p. 3.

[17] For illustration and description Panvinio depended on *peritissimi architecti* who saw the monument *in situ*. His statement is quoted in *CIL* I, 1^2, p. 4.

[18] *Rendiconti*, pp. 106 f. The outside base of the side arches measures 4.50 m., and the width of the third tablet in Michelangelo's wall is 3.86 m. For the adaptation of this width of the pylon to the bases see *Rendiconti*, pp. 91, 115.

[19] "Epigraphia Romana, I, Roma (1937–46)," in *Doxa*, II (1949), 50.

formed the basis on which Holland and I worked, also contributed indirectly to Degrassi's investigation.

Now that the attribution of the *Fasti Capitolini* to the arch is definitely established, it seems curious that, in spite of the views of Ligorio, Panvinio (in his first interpretation of the monument), Fea, and Canina, the mistaken assignment of the *Fasti* to the Regia should have been so long accepted. Topographers and architects who have puzzled over the problem of the arch or arches of Augustus might well have shown the right way, for they have quoted Metellus on the discovery, with the inscriptions, of architectural ornaments that might have belonged to an arch.[20] The real obstacle to a proper understanding of the facts was that lists of consuls seemed entirely suitable as inscribed decoration of the Regia. That was the basis of Huelsen's strange obstinacy in interpreting the evidence of the stones, and that was the reason why Schön, who saw the impossibility of Huelsen's reconstruction,[21] never questioned the attribution of the *Fasti* to the Regia.[22]

The dating of the arch and the inscriptions is discussed by Degrassi very briefly in the volume (19 f.) and in great detail in the *Rendiconti*. The foundations beside Divus Julius have been attributed to two different arches, to the one which the senate voted to erect in 31–30 after Actium, and to the arch with which Augustus was honored after the return of the Parthian standards in 20.[23] A Vergilian scholiast makes it clear that the arch commemorating the success over the Parthians stood *iuxta aedem divi Iulii*,[24] and that would have settled the date of the arch if there were not conflicting evidence from coins.

Triple arches that differ from each other in important details are represented on two series of Augustan coins;[25] one of these arches on a coin from a Spanish mint is clearly associated by its inscription with the return of the standards from Parthia. The other arch, of a very peculiar type, found on a coin of the Roman mint, has no such definite association. The arch represented on it would seem to be better suited for the base found beside Divus Julius.[26] Richter solved the problem by restoring a second arch north of Divus Julius, but when no traces of that arch were found in the region he abandoned his restoration.[27] Since then topographers have puzzled over the question of the arch or arches of Augustus in the Forum. On the whole, the weight of opinion has been in

[20] See Kähler, *s.v.*, "Triumphbogen," *RE*, pp. 380 f.

[21] *Wiener Studien*, XXIV (1902), 332 ff.

[22] Degrassi and Gatti do not discuss the reasons why the *Fasti* were placed on an arch. In a forthcoming article on "Janus and the *Fasti*" my colleague Dr. Louise Adams Holland and I expect to suggest an explanation.

[23] Both reports come from Dio. The first one (li. 19. 1) appears under the year 30 in a series of decrees of 31–30: τά τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἁψῖδα τροπαιοφόρον ἔν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἔδωκαν. I agree with Degrassi that this decree may have been passed as soon as the news of Actium was received—perhaps in the second half of September 31. Under the year 20, when the standards were restored from Parthia, Dio lists a series of honors given to Augustus in this and succeeding years. After stating that Augustus on his return was honored with an *ovatio*, Dio adds (liv. 8. 3): ἁψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη. The report on the *ovatio* is incorrect, based, Mommsen suggested (*RG*², p. 19), on a senatorial decree bestowing an honor that Augustus refused.

[24] *Schol. Ver.* on *Aen.* vii. 606 (*Parthosque reposcere signa*): "quae Licinio Crasso interfecto interceperant Parthi haec ⟨reportavit⟩ Augustus. Huius facti Nicae repraesentantur in arcu qui est iuxta aedem divi Iulii."

[25] See Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I (1923), p. 14, No. 77, Pl. 3. 4: p. 73, No. 427, Pl. 10. 2.

[26] See Gatti, *Rendiconti*, pp. 114 f.; Holland, *AJA*, L (1946), p. 56. The essential difference between the arches on the two coins is that while the side openings are vaulted on the Spanish coin, they are not on the Roman coin. According to both Gatti and Holland, the narrow outside bases might have been inadequate to sustain the thrust of a vault.

[27] *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.*, IV (1889), 151–58; *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (Munich, 1901), pp. 93 f. and, for his revised view, the *Nachtrag* to that volume, pp. 360 f.

favor of the view that the Spanish coins contain architectural inaccuracies, that the arch decreed in 31–30 never was erected, and that the foundations we have belong to the Parthian arch.[28]

Degrassi and Gatti have revived Richter's earlier view of two arches close to Divus Julius, though in the absence of recognizable remains they make no attempt to fix the location of the second arch. For them the arch whose foundations we have is the one voted by the senate after Actium.[29] This identification of the arch accords with the date which Degrassi assigns to the inscriptions.

The date of the inscriptions is to be determined by the time when the names of the Antonii were cancelled in the consular lists. Holding to a view first proposed by Borghesi and since then generally accepted, Degrassi believes that the Antonii were cancelled when by decree of the senate Antony's honors were annulled in September or October of 30. Degrassi rejects my suggestion[30] that the names of the Antonii were removed after the disgrace and death of Mark Antony's son Iullus in 2 B.C. The reason for the rejection is that the Antonii were left intact in the triumphal lists.[31] Those lists, as Hirschfeld showed, were inscribed between 19 and 11 B.C., for they are carefully planned to fill the space, and they end with a triumph of 19 B.C. and do not include the *ovatio* of Drusus in 11 B.C. Degrassi accepts the view of Mommsen that the pilasters were not inscribed until after the names of the Antonii had been erased and then restored in the consular lists.

In support of this dating Degrassi and Gatti find slight palaeographical differences that indicate a change of hand between the sections of the *Fasti* dealing with the period immediately before and after the year 30. From the form of the letter V, clearly shown on photographs of squeezes (Pl. XLIV–XLVII), they hold that the fragment dealing with the years 26–22 was not inscribed by the stone cutter who was responsible for the years 44–36. Degrassi emphasizes the slightness of the differences and suggests that the stone cutters who carried on the work after 30 came from the *officina* charged with the original inscription. I agree with him about the change of hand, but, as he points out, several men seem to have worked on the inscriptions, and I find a similar V in earlier sections.[32] The difference may mean nothing more than that one workman from the *officina* was replaced by another to finish the job.

When the *Fasti* were assigned to the Regia, rebuilt from the spoils of Domitius Calvinus' victory, for which he triumphed in 36 B.C., there was a period of six years

[28] This was Huelsen's view, and it is suggested as probable by Kähler in the most recent study (1939) of the triumphal arch, "Triumphbogen," *RE*. He presents the evidence for all the known arches in the Roman world. On the arches of Augustus in the Forum, see pp. 379 ff. Degrassi, *Rendiconti*, pp. 100 f., holds that the senate could not have failed to carry out the decree of 31–30. But the emperor regularly decided whether he would accept honors offered by the obsequious senate, and, as his *Res gestae* show, he refused many of them. (See note 23 for an instance). Holland (*op. cit.* in n. 26) suggested as a solution of the problem that the central section of the arch may have been built in 30, and that the side openings may have been added after the return of the standards in 20. Examination of the foundations has now convinced him that the suggestion is impossible.

[29] If Degrassi and Gatti are right in this identification, there may be another explanation of the Vergilian scholiast which would not make it necessary to assume the existence of one more arch in this well excavated region. The arch might have been erected in 31–30, and then after 20 B.C. it might have been decorated with Parthian symbols. Degrassi and Gatti do not make this suggestion, for they evidently have confidence in the architectural details presented on the coins.

[30] See *CP*, XLI, 1 ff.

[31] See p. 51 of the article cited in note 19. There is also a brief statement in the *Additamenta* to the volume, p. 571.

[32] See Degrassi, Pl. XXVII, Frags. I and II from tablet 1; Pl. XXXIII, Frag. XII from tablet 2. Other sections of these two tablets, to judge from the V, should be attributed to a different hand. On the variety of hands, see pp. 19, 22, and the discussion of the *Fasti Ostienses*, p. 174. Cf. *Rendiconti*, p. 96.

during which the monument could have been built and the inscriptions could have been placed on it. That period, as Degrassi recognizes, must be radically reduced if the inscriptions were on an arch built in 31-30.

Degrassi assumes that the senators, as soon as they heard the news of Actium, fought on September 2, 31, passed a decree voting the erection of an arch to Octavian, and that work was begun at once on the arch. Although all the decoration may not have been in place, Degrassi holds that the arch had been erected and its lateral openings had been inscribed with the consular lists before the senate received news of Antony's death and voted to annul his honors. That vote took place when Cicero's son Marcus was *consul suffectus*, between September 13 and November 1 of 30 B.C.[33] At that time, in Degrassi's view, the names of the Antonii were erased.

Thus only about a year would have been available for the work, and, while that might have been adequate for the actual building, it would hardly have been sufficient for the planning of the monument and the preparation of the lists. The responsible authorities in Rome[34] would have had to obtain the permission of Octavian for the erection of a structure that altered radically the character of the region beside the temple that he was building for his deified father. It would have taken time to obtain Octavian's approval, for, except for a brief stay at Brundisium early in 30,[35] he was in the East during this year. Even if Octavian gave his approval promptly, and the construction of the monument could proceed at once, the adornment of the arch would have required time. Degrassi does not think that the adornment would necessarily have been completed by 30; in fact, there is an inscription dated in the year of Octavian's triumph, 29, that may, in Degrassi's view, have been placed over one of the lateral arches.[36] Yet he would have us believe that, although the space over the lateral openings in the front of the arch was left vacant, the more inconspicuous interior of the openings was hastily inscribed with the consular lists. The preparation of the consular lists would have taken a great deal of time. Even if, as Degrassi believes, a list that had already been prepared was adopted, there would have had to be additions and adaptations to present the offices and titles of Octavian and also of Caesar. The period from 49 to 30 was treated in great detail in the *Fasti*, and one may be sure that the text was not inscribed without the full consent of Octavian. And that could not have been secured without considerable delay.

What, it may be asked, was the reason for hurry in the completion of the monument? Degrassi believes (*Rendiconti*, pp. 95, 97) that the arch had to be ready in order that Octavian might pass beneath it in his triumph. It is true that the decree passed after Actium, as reported by Dio, provided at the same time for triumph and arch.

[33] Dio li. 19. 4; Plut. *Cic.* 49. 4. For the evidence that Cicero's son held the office from September 13 to November 1, see Degrassi, p. 510.

[34] The *consul suffectus* of 31, Cn. Pompeius Rufus, who served from the first of October (Degrassi, p. 510), may have been in Italy. Maecenas was in general charge in Octavian's absence and Agrippa was temporarily recalled. See Dio li. 3. 5; Plut. *Anton.* 73.

[35] Octavian was recalled to quell a mutiny of soldiers. See Dio li. 4; cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1891), I, 397 f.; II, 211 f.

[36] *CIL*, VI, 873 (cf. 31188 a), Dessau, 81: "Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Caesari divi Iuli f. cos. quinct. cos. design. sext. imp. sept. re publica conservata." Ligorio is the sole authority that this inscription was discovered in the building to which the *FC* belonged. Smetius and Pighius say that it was found near the three columns (of Castor); Manutius gives the place of discovery as *innanzi il portico di Faustina*. See Degrassi, *Rendiconti*, pp. 81, 97. The stone is lost. The measurement given for its width, nine feet, is of course only approximate, but the stone seems certainly to have been too narrow for the central opening. I agree with Kähler, *loc. cit.*, that its attribution to the Arch of Augustus is uncertain.

But it is also true that there is no evidence that any of the so-called triumphal arches (better described by the German term, *Ehrenbögen*) was erected for a triumphal procession. The general in triumph passed through the Porta Triumphalis. If he was also honored with an arch, the monument in every case for which we have specific information was set up afterwards in commemoration of the event.[37] The relation of the arch to the triumphal return of the victorious commander is well illustrated by the Parthian arch. That was apparently voted as soon as news came of the restoration of the standards, presumably in the summer of 20. At the same time Augustus was voted an *ovatio* which he did not accept.[38] But, although his return on October 12, 19 B.C. was celebrated with pomp and ceremony worthy of a triumph, the arch was not dedicated until many months later. The inscription on the Spanish coin, which has been recognized as a copy of the inscription on the arch, fixes the dedication in the sixth tribunitial power of Augustus, that is, between June 26, 18 and June 25, 17.[39]

That is the arch to which I assign the *Fasti* and the foundations beside Divus Julius. The identification is supported by the Vergilian scholiast. If the legend on the coin records the dedication of the arch, the *Fasti* were inscribed during Augustus' sixth tribunitial power. That is a more exact dating than the limits 21–17 which I proposed before the *Fasti* were assigned to the arch.[40]

As for the name of the Antonii, I am still convinced that they were erased by unauthorized action after the scandal attending the death of Iullus Antonius. I concede the validity of Degrassi's criticism that, if my date were correct, the Antonii should have been removed from the triumphal lists, which were written in larger letters than the consular records. But in a *damnatio memoriae*, official or unofficial, the main point was to remove the names from the *fasti*, *ex fastis evellere*, and the triumphal lists are never in ancient terminology described as *fasti*. As Mommsen recognized, there can be no doubt from Tacitus' statement about Iullus (*Ann.* iii. 18) that the erasure of his name was considered.[41]

I have questioned Degrassi's dating of the arch because a year, though perhaps adequate for the construction and inscription of the arch, does not seem long enough if one takes into account the planning of the monument and the preparation of the lists. I have questioned it also because it is based on a mistaken idea of the purpose of the monumental arch. But in this paper I have not considered the evidence on date supplied by the text of the *Fasti*. Before the *Fasti* were shown to have been on the arch that evidence led me to assign the inscriptions to a period

[37] See Huelsen's vigorous protest against the view that arches were erected for the triumph, *Hirschfeld Festschrift* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 423 ff. See Kähler, *op. cit.*, pp. 470 ff; cf. also 374 ff., 464 ff., 488 ff.

[38] See n. 23 above. The date of the return of the standards was probably May 12, 20. Cf. Gardthausen, *op. cit.* II, 476 f.

[39] The inscription is: (on the obverse) "S. p. q. r. imp. Caesari Aug. cos. XI tr. pot. VI"; (on the reverse) "civib. et sign. milit. a Part. recup." Dressel made the suggestion that this inscription came from the arch. See Kähler, *op. cit.*, p. 380; Degrassi, *Rendiconti*, pp. 100 ff.

[40] In a later article I shall discuss the validity of my earlier *terminus ante quem*, the date of the secular games, which were celebrated from May 31 to June 3 of 17 B.C.

[41] See *CP*, XLI, 4. Whether or not I am right about my dating of the erasures in the *FC*, there seems to me no doubt that the Antonii were removed from the *Fasti Colotiani* (Degrassi, pp. 273 ff.; Pl. LXXXV) after the death of Iullus. These lists end with the year 12 B.C. and the surviving fragments cover the years 45–40, 23–12. They clearly exhibit the same hand for all the entries. The only difference that has been discovered in the writing is the frequent omission of periods dividing words in the upper half of the second column, a very weak objection in view of the uniform character of the writing.

after Augustus had consolidated his power. Degrassi and I differ only about a decade in our dates, but it is a very important decade. If Degrassi is right, the *Fasti* represent not an official Augustan list but an earlier list, which, with some adaptation, was based on the *Liber annalis* of Atticus.[42] If I am right, the *Fasti* are an official Augustan version of Roman annals. In the paper published in 1946 I presented arguments from the text of the *Fasti* for my view. Now I have additional evidence which I expect to present in a subsequent paper.

It is to Degrassi's splendid publication of the stones and to his masterly presentation of the material that I owe the fresh evidence. From intensive study of Degrassi's text I can testify that the student of these great records of the Roman past will find in his pages a clarity and an objectivity that are beyond all praise. Here is an enduring work of a great scholar.[43]

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

[42] See the brief statement, *Rendiconti*, p. 104; for the use of Atticus' work in the *Fasti*, see Degrassi's *Praefatio* to the volume, pp. xiv f.; cf. p. 110.

[43] After this paper was in proof I received a letter from Mrs. Joyce Gordon, who is collaborating with her husband, Professor Arthur E. Gordon, on a study of paleographical criteria for dating Latin inscriptions. On the date of the *FC* Mrs. Gordon had independently reached conclusions that anticipated the results of this article. She has now read the article, and I am glad to be able to report that she agrees with my views on paleographical details in the *FC* and also with my dating (see n. 41 above) of the *Fasti Colotiani*.

L'ORGANISATION DE LA MACÉDOINE EN 167 ET LE RÉGIME REPRÉSENTATIF DANS LE MONDE GREC

ANDRÉ AYMARD

Certes, il est difficile de rêver attitude et méthode plus objectives que celles qu'a adoptées J. A. O. Larsen d'un bout à l'autre de l'article récent[1] où il a examiné l'opinion de Michel Feyel,[2] diamétralement opposée à la sienne, sur l'organisation donnée à la Macédoine par les Romains après la défaite de Persée. On ne saurait trop le rassurer: sa rigueur logique ni son impartialité n'ont souffert *from the handicap of having published an earlier statement on the subject.* On me pardonnera toutefois, je l'espère, puisqu'il invite lui-même un neutre à *look into the question in detail,*[3] de répondre à cet appel. Au vrai, suis-je bien neutre? Sur l'objet précis du débat, je veux dire la Macédoine, certainement. Sur certains enseignements plus larges qu'on pourrait être tenté d'en tirer, sans doute en va-t-il différemment; mais j'ai par avance indiqué[4] quelle serait éventuellement ma position de repli et elle me paraît assez solide pour me dispenser de chercher à en couvrir les approches.

La controverse est connue des lecteurs de cette revue. Inutile, donc, d'en rappeler les données. Je crois bon, néanmoins, de souligner que les besoins de son argumentation et le souci d'une précision scrupuleuse ont amené Larsen à établir plus fermement deux textes, l'un littéraire, l'autre épigraphique.

Il a, en effet, irréfutablement prouvé le bien-fondé de la correction qu'il avait apportée, dès 1938,[5] au texte courant des éditions de Tite-Live en xlv. 18. 6–7. Évidemment trompé par l'apparat critique de l'édition Weissenborn-Müller,[6] Michel Feyel a cru que *consilium* était une correction de Sigonius, alors qu'en fait c'est la leçon même du manuscrit unique et alors qu'au contraire la leçon *concilium,* adoptée par les éditeurs modernes, provenait au moins indirectement de Sigonius. L'étude minutieuse à laquelle s'est livré Larsen est d'ailleurs, pour un philologue et un historien, des plus instructive, par les enchaînements imprévus et les chassés-croisés d'erreurs qu'elle permet de suivre dans l'histoire du texte. Si on se reporte à la glose originale de Sigonius, nul ne saurait préciser ce qu'il a exactement voulu proposer; mais, dès la fin du XVIème siècle, on s'accordait pour lui faire proposer une correction et pour accepter celle-ci; puis, dans la seconde moitié du XIXème, c'est-à-dire paradoxalement à l'âge d'or de l'érudition, on attribua au manuscrit la prétendue leçon de Sigonius tandis qu'on attribuait à Sigonius ce que porte le manuscrit! Il y aurait plus d'une conclusion à tirer de ces petites mésaventures philologiques. Elles font sourire en même temps qu'elles attristent. Elles enseignent aussi, une fois de plus, la nécessité du doute systématique et du contrôle personnel de la moindre assertion: à qui et à quoi se fier si, pour le travail courant,

[1] «*Consilium* in Livy xlv. 18. 6–7 and the Macedonian *Synedria,*» *CP,* XLIV (1949), 73–90.

[2] «Paul-Émile et le synédrion macédonien,» *BCH,* LXX (1946), 187–98.

[3] *Op. laud.,* p. 74.

[4] *RÉA,* XLVII (1945), 332–33.

[5] «Roman Greece,» dans T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* IV (1938), 295 et 298.

[6] 2ème éd. ([Berlin, 1881]; c'est le tirage dont s'est servi Feyel: cf. p.188, n. 6), p. 214, *ad loc.*: «consilium *Sig.*»; cette note est évidemment empruntée sans contrôle à l'édition de Madvig et Ussing (1864).

même les indications de l'apparat critique d'une édition aussi justement réputée que celle de Weissenborn-Müller doivent être suspectées? Pesante servitude, mais aussi honneur de nos études...

De même, Larsen[7] a été assez heureux pour obtenir la revision d'une inscription jusqu'ici très insuffisamment connue, revision qui a permis d'en discerner plus exactement quelques lettres.

Malheureusement, sur le fond de la controverse, ces vérités désormais acquises ne dispensent pas grande clarté. Pour l'inscription, Larsen est le premier à indiquer, très justement, qu'elle peut s'accommoder de la solution de son contradicteur tout aussi bien que de la sienne. Quant à Tite-Live, si nous pouvions être sûrs qu'en xlv. 18. 6 et 7 il a écrit *consilium,* et non *concilium,* l'opinion de Larsen en recevrait un singulier soutien. Mais nous sommes sûrs seulement de ce qu'a écrit le scribe du manuscrit et les erreurs évidentes dont il a émaillé sa copie, un peu partout et dans ce passage même, obligent à se défier. Malgré leur désaccord, Larsen et Feyel s'unissent avec raison pour reconnaître que, selon une formule de ce dernier, «l'autorité du manuscrit est nulle, du moment qu'il s'agit d'un si petit détail d'orthographe.»[8] Les progrès réalisés dans l'établissement des textes du dossier ne coupent donc pas court aux divergences d'interprétation.

Les divergences portent sur deux points principaux. D'une part, selon Feyel, Rome a laissé à l'ancien royaume, bien qu'elle le divisât en quatre «régions,» un minimum d'unité par l'organisation d'un synédrion commun; au contraire, selon Larsen, aucun organisme de vie politique commune ne se superposait aux quatre régions destinées à vivre complètement isolées l'une de l'autre. D'autre part, selon Feyel, une assemblée primaire, ouverte à l'ensemble des citoyens, était prévue dans chaque région, tandis que, selon Larsen, le pouvoir souverain y appartenait à un synédrion, c'est-à-dire à un corps représentatif en son essence. Ces deux problèmes, indépendants l'un de l'autre, peuvent être examinés séparément.

Commençons par le premier, celui du synédrion commun: il me paraît impossible de ne pas se rallier à l'opinion de Larsen.

L'unique difficulté qu'elle rencontre est que, sous l'Empire, il existe certainement un synédrion du *κοινὸν Μακεδόνων,* alors que les quatre régions continuent à subsister.[9] Il faut donc admettre que Rome, après s'être refusée, en 167 avant J.-C., à donner à la Macédoine tout entière un organe politique collectif, lui en a accordé un par la suite:[10] quand et à quelle occasion, nous l'ignorons. Mais l'objection qui se fonderait sur cette ignorance ne serait pas insurmontable: Rome, ayant dissous en 146, sinon tous les koina helléniques, du moins à coup sûr la Confédération achaienne, a reconstitué ensuite un koinon achaien.[11] On préférerait sans aucun doute constater une continuité; il faut bien se résoudre à la nier en raison de la force des objections auxquelles se heurte l'interprétation de Feyel.

Je ne me dissimule pas combien il est arbitraire de prétendre reconstituer les démarches intellectuelles d'un critique qui recherche, en toute liberté, la vérité. En l'espèce, pourtant, une hypothèse pa-

[7] *CP*, 1949, p. 89.

[8] Feyel, p. 191.

[9] Double vérité indiscutable et admise par les deux érudits: Feyel, pp. 194 sq., et Larsen, *op. laud.*, pp. 84–85 et 88–89.

[10] Larsen ne manque pas d'apercevoir cette conséquence (cf. p. 90), mais ne peut pas dater le changement. Il doit se borner à constater (de même dans «Roman Greece,» p. 452) que le changement est au plus tard contemporain, à en juger par les monnaies, du règne de Claude.

[11] Paus. vii. 16. 9–10; *Syll.*³, 684, l. 10; cf. Larsen, «Roman Greece,» p. 309.

raît plausible et elle permet d'apercevoir comment Feyel est parvenu à une opinion qui l'oppose à tous ses devanciers.

Ceux-ci lisaient Tite-Live dans l'ordre même du manuscrit. Ils passaient donc d'abord par les chapitres 17 et 18 du livre xlv, qui résument le sénatus-consulte posant les principes du règlement des affaires macédoniennes, et ils y trouvaient, en 18. 6 et 7, l'interdiction[12] d'un *consilium* ou *concilium* commun à toute la Macédoine, ainsi que la création de quatre *consilia* ou *concilia* à raison d'un par région. Même si l'origine annalistique de ces chapitres leur inspirait une saine suspicion, ils parvenaient bientôt au chapitre 29, qui est, lui, d'origine polybienne et, donc, inspire *a priori* plus de confiance. Ils y trouvaient un résumé des décisions promulguées, lors d'une première réunion de députés macédoniens à Amphipolis, par Paul-Émile en son nom et au nom des commissaires sénatoriaux. Sur aucun point, ce résumé ne contredit le résumé annalistique du sénatus-consulte. Il le précise, il y ajoute même; mais ce n'est pas fait pour surprendre puisque le sénatus-consulte énonçait seulement les principes,[13] en laissant le soin de fixer les détails à la commission agissant sur place. Aussi les historiens estimaient-ils normal, en lisant ce chapitre, d'une part de n'y rien rencontrer concernant un *consilium* ou *concilium* central, d'autre part d'y trouver, en revanche, mention de *consilia* ou de *concilia* régionaux. Cette double coïncidence, tant négative que positive, préjugeait déjà pour eux de la question, ou au moins leur faisait aborder dans une certaine disposition d'esprit le dernier passage intéressant de Tite-Live, lui aussi d'origine polybienne, le chapitre 32 du livre xlv qui relate la seconde réunion des députés macédoniens, à laquelle Paul-Émile et les commissaires font connaître une seconde série de décisions.

Il semble que Feyel ait suivi le chemin inverse. Poursuivant des recherches sur les synédroi,[14] il a dû être conduit d'abord au chapitre 32. 2: *pronuntiatum, quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos synedros vocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio res publica administraretur.*[15] Ce texte est bien, d'ailleurs, celui qu'il invoque en premier, qui fournit sa base de départ à son argumentation. *Quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat,* a-t-il dû remarquer aussitôt et s'empresse-t-il de relever dans son mémoire; donc ces *senatores, quos synedros vocant,* que la commission donne l'ordre d'élire sont les membres d'un synédrion central, dont le recrutement et les attributions s'étendent à la Macédoine tout entière, et non pas les membres de quatre synédria désignés et fonctionnant *regionatim;*[16] si Tite-Live songeait à ceux-ci, «il s'exprimerait d'étrange façon.»[17] Cette conviction acquise ou au moins plus qu'amorcée, le reste allait pour ainsi dire de soi. Pour peu qu'une possibilité s'offrît d'interpréter, autrement qu'il n'était courant jusqu'alors de le faire, les chapitres 18 et 29, elle devait être saisie et exploitée. Tout cela d'autant plus hardiment que, pour cou-

[12] La phrase de Tite-Live est incompréhensible s'il s'agit d'autre chose que d'une interdiction; le manuscrit ne transmet pas le mot marquant la négation, mais, depuis Sigonius, tous les critiques ont été unanimes à introduire l'idée par un moyen ou un autre: cf. l'étude minutieuse de Larsen, *CP*, 1949, pp. 79–80.

[13] Liv. (= Ann.) xlv. 17. 7, 18. 8.

[14] Cf. Feyel, p. 198, et *RÉG*, LVI (1943), 256. La n. 1 de la p. 198 du *BCH*, 1946, montre que la rédaction de ce mémoire est antérieure à celle du compte rendu de la *RÉG*. Quelle différence Feyel faisait-il entre *boulè* et *synédrion?* On peut en gros le deviner; mais, pour le savoir exactement, il faudra attendre la publication de ce qu'il avait pu rédiger de sa *Béotie au IIème siècle* dont il parlait p. 198, n. 2, et déjà dans la préface de *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie* (Paris, 1942), p. 11.

[15] Je conserve par convention, comme Larsen, le texte traditionnel. Mais le manuscrit permet de lire aussi *res publicae administrarentur* (Larsen, *op. laud.*, p. 82, n. 28), ce qui trancherait à peu près le débat, et contre Feyel.

[16] J'emprunte l'adverbe à Liv. xlv. 30. 2.

[17] *BCH*, 1946, p. 189.

ronner l'édifice, trois passages conservés de Polybe lui-même parlent, postérieurement à 167, de la «Macédoine» ou des «Macédoniens» en les considérant d'un bloc, sans référence à telle ou telle région.

On jugera peut-être hasardeuse l'explication que je viens de présenter. Il s'impose du moins à quiconque ne peut, après avoir examiné l'ensemble de ces textes, adopter la solution de Feyel, de faire porter sur 32. 2 l'effort principal de sa démonstration. Précisément, c'est cette phrase même de Tite-Live qui, à mon sens, exclut la solution de Feyel.

Rome,[18] pour des raisons très aisées à comprendre à la fin de la troisième guerre de Macédoine, met tout en œuvre pour rompre l'unité de l'ancien royaume. Elle le divise en quatre régions. Elle donne à chacune de ces régions une capitale, des organes politiques, un budget propre. Trois d'entre elles seulement, les seules qui soient exposées aux attaques des barbares, se voient autorisées à entretenir des forces armées sur leurs frontières extérieures. Mais ces forces armées demeureront séparées, auront chacune leur chef et ne sont destinées qu'à agir isolément: s'il devait en être autrement, pourquoi épargner à la «troisième» région, qui demeure désarmée, sa part de l'effort humain et financier dont elle sera pourtant bénéficiaire? Aucun texte ne réserve formellement aux régions le soin de la politique extérieure. Mais, outre que la solution adoptée pour veiller aux frontières du Nord semble en faire le monopole des autorités régionales, il est clair que, pour Rome, la politique extérieure de la Macédoine se réduit pratiquement à rien: que pourrait-elle être désormais pour un pays vaincu par Rome, assujetti à lui payer tribut, destiné à être surveillé par elle, de loin sans doute et néanmoins, elle l'espère, efficacement, auquel toute action militaire commune est interdite, découpé en quatre tronçons que la force romaine protégera contre toute menace sérieuse, condamné en un mot à végéter obscurément loin des intrigues diplomatiques et à ne s'intéresser aux conflits internationaux que dans la mesure où Rome le jugera bon? Quant à la vie intérieure de la Macédoine, les vainqueurs prennent de multiples précautions pour l'enfermer dans les limites de chaque région: ils interdisent de se marier comme de posséder terre ou bâtiment en dehors de la région dont relève chaque Macédonien; ils vont jusqu'à interdire, de région à région et même avec l'extérieur sauf une exception unique, le commerce du sel.[19]

Le rappel de ces décisions bien connues suggère à Larsen[20] la remarque que la création d'un synédrion macédonien contredirait de façon flagrante les intentions qui, évidemment, les inspirent aux Romains. Remarque irréfutable, mais encore insuffisante. *Senatores ... quorum consilio res publica administraretur*, écrit Tite-Live. Ce n'est pas une glose de l'historien latin, comme en sont une les mots *quos synedros vocant* placés après *senatores*. Pour un lecteur de Tite-Live, *senatores* devait suffire à évoquer l'importance pratique de ces personnages, le caractère et l'ampleur de leurs attributions. Aucune explication n'était donc nécessaire et, si Tite-Live a jugé néanmoins bon de la fournir, c'est qu'il la trouvait chez Polybe:

[18] Sur ce développement, cf. Liv. (= Pol.) xlv. 29.

[19] 29. 10: *commercium agrorum aedificiorumque*. Feyel (p. 197) se tient apparemment plus près du texte que moi, en parlant des "achats d'immeubles," alors que j'étends l'interdiction à la possession, ce qui pose la question de la rétroactivité que j'aborderai plus loin. Mais il eût été vain, pour le but qu'on se proposait, d'interdire les achats futurs, tout en maintenant les possessions existantes. Le motif de l'interdiction spéciale du commerce du sel n'apparaît pas clairement. Je doute qu'on puisse comprendre autrement que je le fais 29. 11 (défense de l'importation) et 29. 13 (concession aux Dardaniens du *salis commercium* et organisation rigoureuse de l'exportation du sel de la troisième région vers leur territoire).

[20] *Op. laud.*, pp. 82–83.

un Grec connaissait trop de synédria, et de pouvoirs réels trop variés, pour qu'une indication de ce genre pût lui paraître superflue. Or, ou bien les mots *quorum consilio* ... ne signifient rien, ou bien ils excluent toute interprétation faisant de ces *senatores* les membres d'un synédrion commun.

De quoi donc, en effet, si leur compétence avait dû s'étendre à l'ensemble de la Macédoine, auraient-ils eu à s'occuper? Au-dessus des quatre régions si soigneusement séparées, quel champ d'action se fût offert à leur activité? Larsen est beaucoup trop modéré en estimant que Feyel *had no difficulty finding work* pour le synédrion qu'il imagine.[21] Mon impression personnelle est inverse. Feyel lui réserve le soin de la perception du tribut dû à Rome; mais, puisque les gouvernements régionaux devaient avoir chacun leur caisse, c'est à eux, certainement, que ce soin devait incomber.[22] Il lui réserve également le soin d'«arbitrer, à l'occasion, les différends juridiques entre les quatre districts,» de «faire respecter l'interdiction relative aux mariages et aux achats d'immeubles,» de «faire respecter aussi les lois dont Paul-Émile se préparait à gratifier la Macédoine entière.»[23] Et c'est tout, tout ce que suppose Feyel, tout ce qu'à vrai dire il est possible de supposer puisqu'en tout état de cause la Macédoine ne devait plus avoir de politique extérieure commune.

Confier une mission ainsi définie à un tel organisme eût été, pour Rome, étrangement imprudent. S'en remettre du soin de «faire respecter» toutes ces interdictions à un synédrion composé de Macédoniens, de ces Macédoniens douloureusement émus et consternés des mesures prises contre eux,[24] c'eût été pratiquement leur donner le moyen d'organiser eux-mêmes les fraudes, ou au moins de fermer les yeux sur elles. Dira-t-on que les autorités régionales, elles aussi composées de Macédoniens, n'auraient pas davantage mérité confiance à cet égard? Il se peut. Pourtant les Romains pouvaient se flatter de l'espoir que les gouvernants locaux, prenant goût à leur pouvoir et soucieux de leur autonomie, veilleraient plus volontiers au maintien de barrières sans lesquelles ils ne seraient plus rien. Si l'esprit particulariste avait chance de naître et de s'implanter quelque part, c'était dans les organismes régionaux plutôt que dans un organisme commun inévitablement porté à étendre le domaine de la vie commune afin d'augmenter celui de ses attributions.

En outre, ce programme, déjà si mince en soi, eût été, dans sa partie essentielle, singulièrement éphémère. Il n'est pas nécessaire que les sources nous le signalent pour nous assurer que les commissaires, corrélativement à l'interdiction des mariages et de la possession d'immeubles de région à région, fixèrent les règles à appliquer pour passer de l'ordre de choses ancien au nouveau. Les mesures qu'ils annonçaient avaient-elles un effet rétroactif? Les unions désormais illégales, mais contractées antérieurement, devaient-elles être dissoutes? Les biens fonciers possédés

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[22] Feyel, pp. 196–97. Mais cf. Liv. (= Pol.) xlv. 29. 10: *eo* [dans les capitales des régions] ... *pecuniam conferri* ... *iussit;* mon interprétation est confirmée par Diod. xxxi. 8. 9: ἐν ταύταις ... οἱ φόροι ἠθροίζοντο. Le mot φόροι, que Tite-Live aurait traduit par *pecunia*, doit venir de Polybe: il englobe évidemment le tribut payé à Rome. L'indice que Feyel (p. 197, n. 1) croit pouvoir tirer du montant de ce tribut dans Plut. *Aem.* 28. 6 est sans force. Si le chiffre de 100 talents pour l'ensemble de la Macédoine est exact (il peut n'être qu'une approximation arrondie), on comprendrait en effet fort aisément que les Romains l'eussent fixé globalement d'après le montant total des impôts perçus au profit du trésor royal dans l'ancien royaume. Il était très simple pour eux d'utiliser un renseignement fourni par la comptabilité centrale; la répartition entre les régions, délicate, viendrait ensuite. Le texte Liv. (= Ann.) xlv. 18. 7 plaide pour cette interprétation: un principe, dont les détails d'application seront précisés plus tard.

[23] Feyel, p. 197. Sur l'expression «achats d'immeubles,» cf. *supra*, n. 19.

[24] Liv. (= Pol.) xlv. 30. 1–2.

en dehors d'une région devaient-ils être liquidés, et dans quel délai?[25] Autant de questions qui appelaient des réponses immédiates. Mais, celles-ci une fois fournies, et nécessairement par la commission romaine, leur application ne devait pas soulever de difficultés si durables qu'elles pussent justifier la création d'un organisme permanent.

Feyel n'a pas manqué d'apercevoir là un obstacle. Il a cru le surmonter en supposant que cette création représentait seulement une concession, accordée par la commission entre les deux réunions des députés macédoniens à Amphipolis, afin d'apaiser l'émotion que ceux-ci avaient manifestée en apprenant, lors de la première réunion, les sévères mesures de morcellement. Larsen a déjà montré que cette hypothèse s'accordait mal avec nos textes;[26] mais on peut encore ajouter aux objections qu'il a présentées. Car, si la commission avait pris une décision nouvelle entre les deux réunions et voulu, grâce à elle, apporter quelque baume à la douleur des Macédoniens, il est assurément peu vraisemblable que Polybe et Tite-Live eussent estimé inutile d'en avertir honnêtement leurs lecteurs. Tel qu'il nous est rapporté, dans sa forme strictement dépouillée, l'ordre de procéder à l'élection des *senatores* constituerait, s'il avait eu la portée d'une innovation aussi considérable du point de vue juridique sinon du point de vue pratique, une énigme infiniment plus difficile à percer que celle de l'expression *quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat*, dont Feyel a tiré un tel parti et qui, dans l'interprétation contraire à la sienne,[27] est en comparaison parfaitement limpide pour quiconque a lu auparavant le chapitre 29, sans même songer au chapitre 18.

Mais Feyel n'a pas aperçu ce qui, dans l'hypothèse d'une concession de dernière heure comme d'une décision antérieure du Sénat, demeure le principal et infranchissable obstacle. «Il fallait bien, dans la pratique,» a-t-il écrit, «se résigner à instituer quelque chose qui fût au moins l'ombre d'un pouvoir central.»[28] On ne saurait mieux définir un synédrion commun réduit au rôle, impossible à étoffer, d'un figurant. Une «ombre,» un os creux à ronger: en raison du cloisonnement systématique de la Macédoine, il ne pouvait pas être autre chose et n'aurait pu devenir autre chose qu'au détriment des intérêts romains tels que Rome, alors, les comprenait et montrait tant de dureté impitoyable à les garantir. Le malheur, pour l'interprétation de Feyel, est que la définition de Tite-Live, empruntée à Polybe, *senatores ... quorum consilio res publica administraretur*, est dans tous ses termes incompatible avec l'hypothèse d'une «ombre.»

Cela dit, je me garderai de reprendre sur *quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat* comme sur les autres textes, les excellents commentaires de Larsen.[29] Il m'aura suffi de montrer que le passage même de Tite-Live, dans lequel Feyel a cru trouver son argument essentiel, parle en réalité contre son interprétation. Je n'hésite donc pas à

[25] Il me paraît impossible de nier la nécessité de la rétroactivité pour les immeubles (*supra*, n. 19). Pour les mariages, elle semble monstrueuse; mais de quel poids cette considération a-t-elle pesé?

[26] Feyel, pp. 196–97; Larsen, pp. 83 sq.

[27] Cf. Larsen, *op. laud.*, p. 86.

[28] Feyel, p. 197.

[29] Une seule autre remarque me paraît nécessaire. Larsen n'a pas répondu à l'argument accessoire de Feyel, p. 190, n. 1: «si l'on conserve l'interprétation traditionnelle du chap. 32, on est obligé d'admettre que Paul-Émile annonça deux fois la même chose, à quelques jours de distance; ce qui est vraiment singulier.» Mais il n'annonça pas la même chose: à la première réunion d'Amphipolis (29. 10), le principe général de la convocation des organismes régionaux et de l'élection des magistrats dans les capitales régionales; à la seconde réunion (32. 2), l'ordre de procéder désormais, à plus ou moins brève échéance, à l'élection des synèdres. Même si les synèdres sont au nombre des magistrats, le sens des deux proclamations diffère: d'abord, la définition des institutions; ensuite, leur «mise en route.»

conclure que les synèdres dont l'élection est ordonnée lors de la seconde réunion d'Amphipolis ne peuvent pas être les membres d'un synédrion macédonien central. Comme il n'existe par ailleurs aucune trace sûre de ce synédrion avant l'époque impériale,[30] le premier des deux litiges est tranché.

Sur le second, je ne puis malheureusement pas parvenir à une conviction analogue.

Puisque la commission ordonne l'élection de synèdres en 167 et puisqu'il ne s'agit pas des membres d'un synédrion commun, la même phrase de Tite-Live atteste la création de quatre synédria régionaux. Il n'est pas davantage douteux que le rôle effectif de ces synédria doive être, dans l'esprit des Romains, prépondérant: Tite-Live définit leurs membres *quorum consilio res publica administraretur* et, en outre, Polybe, cherchant par la suite à qualifier le régime auquel les Macédoniens sont soumis et auquel ils ne peuvent décidément se plier, parle d'une *συνεδριακὴ πολιτεία*.[31] Mais il ne s'ensuit pas, pour autant, que chacune des quatre régions ne fut point, en 167, dotée également d'une assemblée primaire. La coexistence d'une assemblée de ce genre et d'un synédrion n'aurait rien de surprenant.[32] Elle serait normale, au contraire, et le fait qu'en pratique le synédrion, par l'ampleur relative de ses attributions et par la fréquence de ses réunions, aurait été le ressort principal de l'administration ou de la politique ne change rien à cette constatation.

Impossible, d'autre part, de ne pas donner pleinement raison à Larsen quand il établit, à l'aide de nombreux textes qu'il soumet à une analyse remarquable de finesse, que les mots *δημοκρατικὴ πολιτεία*, également employés par Polybe à propos du nouveau régime de la Macédoine, font uniquement allusion à la disparition de la monarchie: pour Polybe, «démocratie» ne signifie souvent pas autre chose que «république» et n'implique nullement un régime républicain plutôt qu'un autre.[33] Impossible aussi de ne pas estimer excessivement hardies certaines affirmations de Feyel: comme Larsen l'indique encore avec raison, rien ne s'oppose en théorie à ce que le principe de liberté s'accommode de l'absence d'une assemblée primaire, même simplement électorale; nos connaissances demeurent trop imparfaites pour qu'il soit loisible de poser, en l'espèce, aucune règle générale ou de raisonner par analogie.[34]

Admettons, par convention, qu'au chapitre 18 comme au chapitre 29 Tite-Live a écrit *concilium*, et non pas *consilium*. A

[30] En particulier pour les trois passages de Polybe, cf. Larsen, *op. laud.*, pp. 86–87. J'insisterais plus fortement qu'il ne le fait sur le caractère forcé de l'interprétation donnée par Feyel au verbe *ἔφυγεν* en Pol. xxxi. 17. 2. Il s'agit d'une fuite, non d'un exil prononcé par contumace. D'une part, *φεύγειν* au sens d'«exiler» serait faible—nous sommes au IIème siècle, à un moment où l'ancien caractère de cette peine s'est adouci—pour le forfait qu'a commis Damasippos: le texte Pol. xxv. 3. 1–2 serait intéressant à commenter à ce propos. D'autre part, si on donne à la peine de l'exil son plein effet archaïque, on accordera du moins que la femme et les enfants du criminel n'auraient pas été frappés aussi durement, si même ils l'avaient été. Et, si *φεύγειν* a le sens de «fuir,» *Μακεδονία* a un sens purement géographique, sans aucun sous-entendu politique. Feyel n'a pas relevé Pol. xxxvi. 17. 13: ce passage ne serait pas, d'ailleurs, plus démonstratif que les autres.

[31] Pol. xxxi. 2. 12.

[32] Cf. le koinon des Magnètes: Busolt[3]-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, II, 1492.

[33] Pol. xxxi. 2. 12. L'excellent commentaire de Larsen a été donné par lui dans *CP*, XL (1945), 88–91. Aux textes qu'il y a rassemblés, je me permettrai d'ajouter ma remarque (*RÉA*, XXXIX [1937], 20 et n. 3) à propos de Pol. ii. 41. 6. L'idée de Polybe, en xxxi. 2. 12, est exactement celle sur laquelle il revient en xxxvi. 17. 13 (*ἀπολυθέντες μοναρχικῶν ἐπιταγμάτων*). Mais il emploie aussi, à l'occasion (ainsi, vi. 9. 3 sq.), le mot «démocratie» en l'opposant à «oligarchie.» Aller plus loin et tendre, comme Larsen, vers l'équivalence chez Polybe de «démocratie» et «gouvernement représentatif» est une tout autre question.

[34] Feyel, pp. 191 et 196; Larsen, *CP*, 1949, p. 88; mais je modifie légèrement le raisonnement de celui-ci, car je ne voudrais pas m'appuyer sur l'exemple du koinon lycien.

première vue, le mot conviendrait mieux à une assemblée primaire qu'à un synédrion. A première vue seulement, et, si Feyel s'est gardé d'exploiter l'argument, l'incertitude sur ce «si petit détail d'orthographe» n'en est assurément pas l'unique cause. Car, pour désigner la réunion à Amphipolis d'une assemblée composée de dix *principes* par *civitas*, donc d'une assemblée qui n'est pas une assemblée primaire et qui, dans son mode de recrutement, n'est qu'un synédrion, Tite-Live emploie les mots *Macedonum concilium*, et non pas, cette fois à coup sûr, *consilium*.[35]

Essayons une autre voie d'approche: l'élection des magistrats revient-elle à une assemblée primaire ou à un corps représentatif, se fait-elle par suffrage direct ou à plusieurs degrés? D'après Tite-Live, elle doit avoir lieu chaque année dans la capitale de chaque région.[36] Il emploie alors le mot *magistratus*. Que recouvre exactement ce mot? Il englobe peut-être même les synèdres, puisque la boulè athénienne, en tant que corps, était une *archè*.[37] Mais Tite-Live ne précise pas qui procède à l'élection. A la seconde réunion d'Amphipolis, la commission ordonne d'élire les synèdres. Est-ce à dire qu'ils doivent être élus immédiatement, par l'ensemble du *concilium* ou après sa division en quatre sections régionales, en tout cas par les *principes* représentant les *civitates*, ce qui serait une élection à deux degrés? Bien hardi qui oserait répondre à cette question. De toute façon, la procédure appliquée en 167, lors de la mise en place des nouvelles institutions, ne peut pas faire préjuger de la procédure définitive dont l'application régulière est prévue par le nouveau statut que les Romains ont dicté et que nous ignorons.

Ainsi menée dans toutes les directions, l'enquête me semble aboutir partout à une impasse. Feyel croyait à des assemblées primaires, électorales une fois par an. Larsen a toujours cru des assemblées primaires invraisemblables; toutefois, en 1938, il admettait la possibilité d'assemblées électorales.[38] Je serais, pour ma part, moins catégorique que Feyel et plus prudent encore que ne l'était Larsen il y a dix ans. A mon sens, rien ne prouve que les quatre régions aient eu des assemblées primaires, électorales ou dotées d'attributions plus larges; mais rien ne prouve davantage qu'elles n'en aient pas eu.

De pure érudition en apparence, le débat présente en réalité un intérêt plus large, que Larsen, à plusieurs reprises,[39] a bien mis en lumière. Il s'agit, au vrai, de savoir quand et comment les Grecs sont parvenus au concept du régime représentatif, qui est à la base de l'organisation de tous les États modernes.

Feyel, jugeant avec le bon sens d'un homme d'aujourd'hui, estimait insensé que quiconque eût pu songer à réunir une assemblée primaire pour la Macédoine tout entière: «c'était une entreprise impossible de réunir une assemblée primaire dans un État aussi étendu et aussi peu cohérent.»[40] En fait, oui. Mais en théorie,

[35] Liv. (= Pol.) xlv. 29. 1 (cf. 34. 2 à propos des Épirotes; sur ce qu'il faut entendre par *civitas*, cf. Feyel, p. 189, n. 2; Larsen, «Roman Greece,» pp. 296 et 298; *CP*, 1949, p. 85) et 32. 1. Il s'agit des mêmes assistants: Feyel ne le conteste pas, au contraire. L'hypothèse présentée par Weissenborn-Müller, *ad* 29. 1, ne me semble pas pouvoir être retenue: si l'on a fixé un nombre précis de dix représentants par *civitas*, ce n'était pas pour admettre au *concilium* la masse des citoyens d'Amphipolis.

[36] Liv. (= Pol.) xlv. 29. 10: *ibi magistratus creari;* j'en rapproche 29. 4: *annuos creantis magistratus* qui doit concerner aussi, mais non pas exclusivement, les magistrats des cités.

[37] Busolt[3], *Gr. Staatsk.*, I, 465, n. 2; et Busolt[3]-Swoboda, II, 1024, n. 2.

[38] «Roman Greece,» p. 298: *It is unlikely that federal primary assemblies, at least aside from possible electoral assemblies, existed at all.*

[39] Notamment dans son mémoire de *CP*, XL (1945), 65–90: «Representation and Democracy in Hellenistic Federalism.»

[40] Feyel, p. 196: c'est pour lui «une considération de simple bon sens.»

certes non. La meilleure preuve en est fournie par la vieille et durable institution macédonienne de l'assemblée de l'armée: juridiquement, dans l'esprit de tous, elle équivalait à une assemblée primaire, puisqu'elle attribuait le titre de *basileus* et celui d'*épitropos*, puisqu'elle jugeait, condamnait et exécutait elle-même au nom de tous les Macédoniens.[41] Il semble qu'un homme d'aujourd'hui ressente tout autrement qu'un Grec d'autrefois la différence entre l'état de fait et l'état de droit. De nos jours encore, et sans que nul s'en scandalise, il n'est pas rare que, dans une démocratie de type «occidental,» une proportion considérable de citoyens, 25 à 30% et même souvent davantage, s'abstienne de voter aux élections générales, malgré leur périodicité très espacée et malgré les appels lancés au civisme comme aux passions partisanes des électeurs. Mais il faut, pour juger des réalités grecques, affecter la réalité moderne d'un très fort coefficient. Les Grecs ne s'en scandalisaient pas: songeons à l'ekklèsia athénienne, réunie plusieurs fois par mois et théoriquement accessible, au V^ème siècle, à une quarantaine de milliers de citoyens; la procédure des *ψηφίσματα ἐπ' ἀνδρί*[42] permet d'imaginer combien le nombre normal des assistants pouvait y être ridicule, proportionnellement à celui des ayants-droit; nous savons pourtant que les Athéniens n'ont jamais songé à la transformer en assemblée représentative. Quant aux grands États grecs, je veux dire à certains koina territorialement étendus, on ne doit pas perdre de vue qu'ils sont issus de petits États, dont les institutions préexistaient à leur extension géographique, ou au moins qu'ils se sont organisés en subissant l'influence de conceptions adaptées à de petits États. Au vrai, dans l'État grec normal, c'est-à-dire dans la *polis*, milieu dans et pour lequel les conceptions politiques grecques sont nées et ont mûri, l'assemblée primaire présente un caractère de nécessité fondamentale. Ce caractère s'explique sans doute par la possibilité matérielle pour chacun de se rendre sans peine à l'assemblée. Mais il s'explique également, peut-être plus décisivement encore, par une certaine façon de comprendre les rapports réciproques du citoyen et de l'État, de définir la pleine liberté et le véritable devoir du citoyen, de donner au citoyen le moyen d'utiliser l'une et de remplir l'autre. S'il en est bien ainsi—et j'aurai sans doute un jour l'occasion de revenir sur cette idée avec plus de détails—il n'est point surprenant que les koina eux-mêmes ne se soient pas dégagés aisément de ces conceptions.

On aperçoit ainsi la portée réelle et les répercussions éventuelles de la controverse.

Larsen écrit à propos d'elle: *there is a group of scholars for whom it is almost an article of faith that there was no extensive use of representative government in ancient times.*[43] La formule paraît quelque peu excessive: le dogmatisme d'un E. A. Freeman[44] n'a plus aujourd'hui beaucoup d'émules et la notion d'*article of faith* n'est guère compatible avec celle de *scholar*. De toute façon, personnellement, si j'ai cherché à établir que la *synodos* achaienne était, elle aussi, en théorie une

[41] F. Granier, *Die mak. Heeresvers.* (*Münch. Beitr. zur Papyrusforschung und Rechtsgesch.*, XIII. Heft [1931]), pp. 48 sqq.

[42] L'expression est commode pour désigner les décrets pour le vote desquels un quorum était nécessaire. Je l'adopte (cf. Busolt³-Swoboda, II, 885 et 1000) sans trancher pour autant la question du quorum de l'ostrakophorie. De toute façon, pour des assemblées dites «plénières» (δῆμος πληθύων), on se contente de 6000 citoyens.

[43] *CP*, 1949, p. 81.

[44] D'un bout à l'autre de son *History of Federal Government* (Londres, 1863; 2^ème éd., 1893), est posé et utilisé pour la Grèce le principe de la nécessité des assemblées primaires. Pour cette raison, et pour bien d'autres, j'ai, dans mes *Assemblées de la Conf. ach.* (Fasc. XXI de la «Bibl. des Univ. du Midi» [Bordeaux, 1938]), p. ix, appelé E. A. Freeman «remarquable historien, mais redoutable doctrinaire.»

assemblée primaire,[45] je crois m'être gardé aussi bien de chercher des arguments en dehors du koinon achaien que d'étendre en dehors de lui mes conclusions. Je crains, en revanche, que Larsen n'ait pas suffisamment résisté à la tentation d'aller un peu trop loin en sens contraire et qu'il n'ait écrit, sur le caractère normal du système représentatif dans les koina du II^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., quelques phrases un peu péremptoires. Trois exemples, selon lui, montreraient *that representative government was the normal form of government in federal states of the second century:* les quatre régions macédoniennes, le koinon thessalien, le koinon lycien.[46] Mais peut-être n'est-il pas inutile d'y regarder d'un peu plus près.

Pour les républiques macédoniennes, on l'a vu, je crois impossible d'y nier, en invoquant les seules données de nos sources actuelles, l'existence de toute assemblée primaire. Larsen était légitimement plus circonspect en 1938, lorsqu'il admettait encore au moins la possibilité d'une assemblée électorale ouverte à tous les citoyens, possibilité qu'il ne prend plus aujourd'hui la précaution de réserver.[47]

Pour le koinon thessalien organisé en 194 par T. Quinctius Flamininus, mes doutes sont encore plus vifs. J'ai admis naguère qu'aucune assemblée primaire ne s'y réunissait.[48] Mais, en suivant sur ce point l'interprétation courante, je n'avais pas regardé d'assez près certains passages de Tite-Live. D'abord, xlii. 38. 6–7: on y trouve, à propos du *Thessalorum concilium*, le mot *multitudo*, dont on m'accordera sans doute qu'il convient mal à une assemblée qui ne serait pas une assemblée primaire. Je sais bien que Tite-Live emploie le même mot *multitudo* à propos de la première réunion des députés macédoniens à Amphipolis en 167. Mais il s'y justifie moins malaisément: à raison de dix députés par *civitas*, cet autre *concilium* devait aboutir, pour la Macédoine tout entière, à un nombre considérable d'assistants,[49] un nombre que n'aurait jamais pu atteindre une assemblée thessalienne théoriquement conçue et organisée comme représentative. En second lieu, l'*opinio communis* me paraît se concilier aussi péniblement avec xxxiv. 51. 5;[50] l'interprétation à coup sûr la plus normale de ce texte est favorable à l'existence d'une assemblée primaire, côte à côte avec un synédrion dont l'existence n'est pas douteuse.[51] Les institutions du koinon thessalien, en cela au moins, pourraient donc être analogues à celles, que personne ne met en doute, du koinon des Magnètes organisé vers la même époque.[52]

Reste le koinon lycien. J'avoue volontiers ne découvrir aucun texte qui puisse, à son propos, embarrasser vraiment Larsen. Mais il faut remarquer que les sources qui renseignent sur ses institutions sont tardives: Strabon, d'une part—même Artémidoros ne jette pas au cœur du II^{ème} siècle—et, de l'autre, des inscriptions d'époque impériale.[53] S'y fier

[45] Dans le livre cité à la n. précédente. Larsen, en recensant (*CP*, XXXVI [1941], 406–9), a d'ailleurs indiqué son désaccord. Et précisément son mémoire de *CP*, 1945, lui paraissait devoir *supply, not a study of the Achaean «synodos,» but prolegomena for the study of Polybius' account of the Achaean League and for the study of its «synodos»* (p. 67) et *clarify the background against which the problem must be studied* (p. 91). Les pages qui vont suivre montreront que je ne me dérobe pas si on désire aborder la question sous cet angle.

[46] *CP*, 1945, p. 66.

[47] Cf. *supra*, n. 38: dans les mémoires de *CP*, 1945 et 1949, je ne retrouve plus rien de semblable, et je le regrette.

[48] *Assemblées*, p. 53, n. 1. Cf. Larsen, *CP*, 1945, p. 65, n. 3.

[49] Liv. (= Pol.) xlv. 29. 1 et 32. 1: sur la composition de ces *concilia*, cf. *supra*, n. 35.

[50] Les trois mots *comitia*, *conventus*, *concilium*, empruntés au vocabulaire politique romain, sont difficilement explicables s'il s'agit seulement de séances de corps représentatifs. Je tirerai un peu plus loin parti du mot *maxime* en xxxiv. 51. 6: il ne se comprend bien que s'il y a autre chose qu'un *senatus*.

[51] Busolt^{3}-Swoboda, II, 1417 et n. 4.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 1492; Larsen, *CP*, 1945, p. 68.

[53] Larsen, *CP*, 1945, pp. 76–77 et 81–83.

pour définir le véritable caractère des institutions originelles reviendrait donc à nier, contre toute vraisemblance, les possibilités d'une évolution que rien n'empêche d'avoir été à la fois rapide et importante.

J'ajoute ainsi de nouvelles réserves à celles que j'avais rapidement présentées en 1945.[54] Je les ajoute sans songer un instant à les leur substituer. Car mes premières observations me paraissent toujours valables; impossible, à mon sens, de juger des tendances constitutionnelles des Grecs d'après les institutions d'États organisés sous le contrôle de Rome quand ce ne fut pas Rome elle-même qui légiféra directement. Même s'il était irréfutablement établi que les républiques macédoniennes et les koina thessalien et lycien n'ont jamais possédé d'assemblées primaires, l'interprétation que j'ai cru pouvoir donner de la *synodos* achaienne ne s'en trouverait pas, pour autant, ébranlée.

Il peut être dangereux de livrer le fond de sa pensée, ce qu'on hésite parfois à se formuler à soi-même parce qu'on ne peut l'entourer de preuves satisfaisantes. Je m'y hasarderai néanmoins, en priant le lecteur de ne pas se méprendre sur le caractère de l'explication que je vais présenter: les scrupules auxquels habitue la pratique de l'érudition ne sont pas tels qu'ils interdisent de se complaire, à l'occasion, à des vues synthétiques, même trop hardies.

Dans les pays grecs et dès la victoire de Kynosképhalai, la politique romaine, c'est-à-dire celle de la classe sénatoriale dirigeante, se propose deux buts, très voisins et même, en pratique, solidaires: créer durablement l'ordre intérieur, politique et social, d'une part; installer des gouvernements dociles, qui ne s'associeront à aucune entreprise contre la prépondérance de Rome, d'autre part. Un moyen unique permet d'atteindre en même temps ces deux buts: remettre le pouvoir à l'élite sociale, la plus intéressée à la tranquillité intérieure et à la fidélité envers Rome. Les Romains font donc en sorte, partout où ils le peuvent, que la réalité du pouvoir appartienne aux riches. Ils imposent un cens pour toutes les fonctions quelque peu importantes: *a censu maxime et senatum et iudices legit* [*T. Quinctius*], écrit Tite-Live (xxxiv. 51. 6) à propos du koinon thessalien.

Détruisent-ils en même temps l'assemblée primaire là où elle existait? Évitent-ils de l'introduire dans les républiques nouvelles qui, soustraites à une domination monarchique, ne la possédaient pas? Je ne puis l'affirmer, ni affirmer le contraire. Rome connaissait les risques de l'assemblée primaire, son instabilité, et quel dangereux instrument elle pouvait devenir aux mains des démagogues, sous l'irrésistible poussée du nombre. Mais Rome savait aussi, par son expérience propre surtout antérieurement aux Gracques, qu'avec quelque habileté des bien-pensants parviennent à la manier sans dommage, au mieux de leurs intérêts. *Maxime*, précise Tite-Live dans le passage qui vient d'être cité. Comment comprendre cet adverbe, auquel on n'a peut-être pas prêté jusqu'ici une attention suffisante, c'est-à-dire sur quoi retombe-t-il? Il me paraît vraisemblable qu'il retombe moins sur *censu* que sur *et senatum et iudices*. S'il en est bien ainsi, il suggère des conditions de cens moins sévères pour d'autres institutions que le sénat et les tribunaux; parmi ces institutions, il faut songer à une éventuelle assemblée primaire. L'accès aurait pu en être réservé à des citoyens possédant un cens plus faible: c'eût été, pour écarter la masse turbulente, *multitudo avida novandi res*,[55] re-

[54] *RÉA*, XLVII (1945), 332–33.

[55] J'emprunte l'expression à Liv. (= Pol.) xxxv. 33. 1.

prendre l'un des procédés des anciens régimes oligarchiques grecs. Il était également permis d'imaginer, à l'imitation du système romain, une organisation interne de l'assemblée qui réduisît les voix des pauvres à une infime minorité. D'autres solutions, et par exemple la restriction des attributions de l'assemblée, étaient encore possibles.

Rome, pour parvenir à ses fins, n'était donc pas contrainte de créer des gouvernements vraiment, complètement, théoriquement représentatifs. J'ai l'impression—l'impression seulement—qu'elle n'en a créé aucun. D'abord et, bien entendu, surtout, parce que je n'en découvre aucun exemple incontestable, attesté dès le début de l'immixtion de Rome dans les affaires intérieures d'un État grec. Ensuite, parce qu'un tel gouvernement eût représenté une innovation considérable et parce que je cherche vainement où les classes dirigeantes romaine et grecque auraient pu trouver alors l'idée de priver un État d'assemblée primaire, c'est-à-dire de donner un démenti à toutes les habitudes romaines ou grecques.

De toute façon, il a certainement subsisté en beaucoup d'États, même fédéraux et organisés sous le contrôle de Rome, des assemblées primaires. Pour expliquer leur disparition, une évolution, que je dirais volontiers presque naturelle, a dû jouer le rôle principal, beaucoup plus que l'imagination des *constitution-makers*. La prééminence de Rome s'est affermie sans cesse, jusqu'à se transformer en souveraineté. Déçus et durement châtiés chaque fois qu'ils ont tenté de secouer son joug, les éléments indociles, patriotes mêlés aux adversaires des régimes ainsi établis, ont fini par accepter l'inévitable. Le domaine d'action des États grecs s'est constamment amenuisé, et avec lui, l'intensité comme l'attrait de la vie politique. On s'est désintéressé du jeu des institutions, vains rouages condamnés à tourner à vide. Les organes supérieurs, magistratures, conseils et tribunaux, réservés aux classes riches, fournissaient encore des dignités honorifiques à leurs membres: ils ont donc subsisté. Mais les assemblées primaires n'offraient aucune compensation à leurs assistants: la plupart de ceux qui avaient le droit d'y siéger cessèrent donc de les fréquenter, surtout dans les États territorialement étendus. Aussi sont-elles mortes, après une agonie plus ou moins longue. Ici, tel ou tel conseil déjà existant hérita leurs attributions. Là, au contraire, on les transforma en assemblées représentatives: c'était simplement la reconnaissance officielle d'un état de fait, car il avait bien fallu, dans les koina, qu'un citoyen au moins de chaque cité fût présent à l'assemblée pour utiliser la ou les voix de la cité. Le modèle des *concilia* provinciaux, qu'on transplanta ensuite à l'Occident de l'empire, se précisa ainsi peu à peu, par une évolution inévitable.

Voilà comment je me surprends moi-même à me représenter les choses, lorsque je laisse libre cours à l'imagination, qui en prend volontiers à son aise avec les déficiences d'une documentation lacunaire ou ambiguë. Mais on voit la conclusion à laquelle conduit cette explication. Si mon audace ne m'égare pas, l'apparition et l'extension du régime représentatif dans le monde grec ne signifient pas un renouvellement des formes politiques, où on pourrait reconnaître la marque d'une fertilité d'invention et d'une vitalité dignes de la souplesse antérieure de l'esprit hellénique. Elles traduisent bien plutôt la lassitude, le découragement et le renoncement. Non pas un rajeunissement créateur, mais une abdication: le manche qu'on jette après la cognée, et qu'il se trouve quelqu'un pour ramasser.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

HOMER'S USE OF PERSONAL *πολυ-* COMPOUNDS

What follows is a limited study of the distribution of the *πολυ-* compounds, both adjectival and nounal, applied to named persons in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It omits those that refer exclusively to places or to abstractions without any specific personal reference or to unknown persons singly or collectively. For example, it excludes *πολύλλιστος* because the river-god in question has no name but includes *πολυάρητος* because the child referred to is obviously Odysseus; it excludes *πολυδάκρυος* applied only to *μάχη* but includes its cognates in *-υς* and *-υτος* as used of Ares and Hector. The reason for this limitation to what I shall loosely call "personal" or "ethical" terms (though *πολυσπερής*, for example, is omitted for lack of a *specific* personal reference) is that the inquiry is subsidiary to a general study of the character of Odysseus. My lists are based on Cunliffe's *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect.*

It will be shown that Homer uses these *πολυ-* compounds with careful restrictions when they describe notable personal qualities. But I find no similar care in his use of *πολυ-* terms denoting mere wealth. He uses only seven of these with reference to named persons: *-αρνι* (Thyestes), *-ιππος* (the Iliadic Mentor), *-κτήμων* and *-λήϊος* (Amphios), *-μηλος* (Iphiklos and Phorbas), *-χαλκος* and *-χρυσος* (Dolon). (I defer until later three applied to women, *-δωρος*, *-μνήστη*, and *-φάρμακος*, which imply more than just conventional wealth.) Even a certain carelessness or lack of genuine interest in these plutocratic terms may be argued. For Homer squanders two pairs of them on minor characters. He does not think it worth while to give one to any leading hero in either epic. He uses none with specific personal reference in the *Odyssey*, though epithets for places are fairly equally divided between the two epics (allowing for the Catalogue), and the more ethical terms, now to be considered, are slightly more numerous in the *Odyssey*. The reasons for this discrepancy are platitudes: Homer was more interested in character than in possessions, and the *Odyssey* is more "ethical" than the *Iliad.*

The more ethical compounds of *πολυ-* must now be classified.

A. APPLIED TO ODYSSEUS UNIQUELY

-αινος, *-κερδείη*, *-κερδής* (*νόος*), *-κηδής* (*νόστος*), *-μήχανος*, *-πικρα*, (adverbially), *-τλας* (but cf. *-τλήμων* in B and *-τλητος* applied *ἅπαξ* to unspecified *γέροντες*), *-τροπος*.

B. APPLIED TO ODYSSEUS AND OTHERS

-άρητος (O. + an unspecified *θεός*), *-θαρσής* (*μένος* of O. + Achilles and the Trojans), *-μητις* (O. + Hephaistos), *-πενθής* (O. + Penelope and the halcyon), *-πλαγκτος* (O. + pirates and the wind), *-στονος* (O. + Eris, the woes of the Achaeans, and an arrow), *-τλήμων* (O. + Nestor: cf. *-τλας* in A), *-φρων* (O. + Hephaistos and *τινές*).

C. APPLIED TO OTHERS UNIQUELY

-βουλος (Athene), *-δαίδαλος* (Sidonians, as well as sundry *objets d'art*), *-ιδρείη* (Eurycleia), *-μηχανίη* (Circe), *-μνήστη* (Penelope), *-μυθος* (Telemachus: Menelaus is *οὐ πολύμυθος* in *Il.* iii. 214), *-παίπαλος* (Phoenicians), *-σκαρθμος* (Myrine, whoever she was: *Il.* ii. 814), *-φημος* (Phemios).

D. APPLIED JOINTLY TO OTHERS BUT NOT TO ODYSSEUS

-δακρυς, *-υτος* (Ares, Hector, and abstractions), *-δωρος* (Penelope and Andromache), *-ιδρις* (Eurycleia and Phoenicians), *-φάρμακος* (Circe and *ἰητροί*).

The following facts emerge:

a) Out of the twenty-nine "ethical" *πολυ-* terms in Homer, eight are confined exclusively to Odysseus. No other Homeric figure gets more than one exclusively.

b) Odysseus shares eight of these terms with others, namely, Hephaistos, Ares, Eris, an un-

specified god, Nestor, Achilles, the Trojans, Penelope, pirates, the halcyon, the wind, Greek woes, and an arrow. In other words, Odysseus is comparable with the gods in his intelligence, with Achilles in courage, with the aged Nestor in trials and experience, with his wife in sorrow, with pirates and the halcyon in his unhappiness and wanderings. His griefs may even be compared with those caused to all the Achaeans by baneful Eris. The wind or an arrow are fitting symbols for his vicissitudes and for all the wounding woe that his name etymologically implies. None of these terms is ineptly shared.

c) The thirteen terms not applied to Odysseus refer to divinities or semidivinities (Athene, Ares, Circe), foreigners (Sidonians, Phoenicians, and perhaps Myrine), members of Odysseus' household (Telemachus, Penelope, Eurycleia, Phemios), Hector, and Andromache. Specific women receive eight *πολυ-* terms; men, only three. Two are applied to professional workers, i.e., the Ithacan bard and Greek physicians at Troy.

It is also noteworthy that, apart from Odysseus, only three heroes at Troy are given ethical *πολυ-* epithets. Hector is uniquely and appositely "much bewailed," a passive quality. Nestor in three generations merited a description which Odysseus acquired in one—"much enduring," again a passive attribute. Only Achilles (with some unspecified Trojans) shares an active *πολυ-* epithet with Odysseus—"of much boldness." To be bracketed with Nestor in experience and Achilles in courage was a supreme honor for Odysseus. But he, for his own part, has fourteen *πολυ-* terms unshared by any other hero. Clearly, Homer did not regard versatility[1] as typical of any hero except Odysseus. On the other hand, Odysseus shares this versatility almost exclusively with divinities, foreigners, women, and members of his own household, so far as named persons are concerned.

[1] Even when translated "much" in English, *πολυ-* terms, I think, almost always imply, especially in active compounds, variety: thus Achilles was "bold in various ways"; Nestor had "suffered variously"; *πολύαινος* is more than *ἀγακλυτός* or *ἐρικύδης* (assuming that it does not rather mean "telling many a tale"); and we find *μεγάθυμος* but not **πολύθυμος*. Homer's only compound in *ποικιλο-* (*-μήτης*) is applied exclusively and frequently to Odysseus.

A comparison with Homer's use of proper names in *Πολυ-* or *Πουλυ-* supports a theory that he may have restricted his use of personal *πολυ-* terms deliberately. Fourteen suggest ethical qualities: *Πολυαιμονίδης* ("Son of Much Skilled"), *Πουλυδάμας* (*-να*), *-δεύκης* (cf. *ἀδευκής*), *-θερσεΐδης* (cf. *Θερσίτης*), *-ιδος*, *-κάστη*, *-δωρος* (*-η*), *-νείκης*, *-ξεινος*, *-πημονίδης*, *-ποίτης* (? from *ποι-έω*), *-φείδης*, *-φημος*, *-φήτης*, *-φόντης*. Several of these suggest distinctly Odysseus-like traits, especially *-ιδος*, *-ποίτης*, and *-φήτης*. Many are doubtless traditional. But two confined to the *Odyssey* may well be *ad hoc* coinages. They are certainly very apt: *Πολυπημονίδης*, the pseudonym given to Odysseus' father in *Od.* xxiv. 305, well refers back to his true grandfather, Autolycus, who was supremely "Much-mischievous" (*Od.* xix. 395–96) or "Much Involved in Woe" (*Od.* xix. 407);[2] and *Πολυθερσεΐδης*, "Son of Much Boldness," admirably suggests that the father of the insolent Ctesippus was a kind of "Multi-Thersites." It may be deduced that common usage before and in Homer's time used these personal *πολυ-* terms widely and freely, while Homer, when he was not taking over traditional names, drastically restricted their use to two highly significant cases, both, as it happens, connected with Odysseus.

The distribution between the two epics has already been discussed. There is nothing to indicate disunity of authorship in this or any other aspect of Homer's use of *πολυ-* terms. It is as one would expect when one finds that, among Odysseus' personal epithets, *πολυκερδής*, *-κηδής*, *-πλαγκτος*, *-τλήμων*, and *-τροπος* are confined to the *Odyssey*, while *-αινος*, *-μητις*, *-μήχανος*, and *-τλας* are common in the *Iliad*. Of the nouns, the political *πολυκοιρανίη* (with no specific personal reference) occurs in the *Iliad;* the more ethical and individualistic *-ιδρείη*, *-κερδείη*, and *-μηχανίη*, in the *Odyssey* only.

It is also noteworthy that Homer uses comparatively few compounds in *παν-*, and, of these, only *πανάπαλος*, *-άποτμος*, *-αφῆλιξ*, *-αώριος*, and *-δήμιος* approach an ethical significance. None of these is applied to a hero. Priam and Astyanax monopolize the middle

[2] Wilamowitz' conjecture *Πολυπαμμονίδης*, "Much Possessing," would be less apposite for Autolycus, though otherwise attractive.

three. The first refers to Athene's disguise as a youth, the last to Irus the beggar. It is not until the early fifth century that *παν-* compounds grow common. Why? Because, perhaps, of Homer's superb sense of *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, in contrast with the "whole-hoggery" of writers like Pindar and Aeschylus. Odysseus the *πολυμήχανος* of Homer does not become *πανοῦργος* until Sophocles' time.[3]

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[3] Cf. my articles on "The Denigration of Odysseus," *Hermathena*, LXXIII (May, 1949), 33–51, and LXXIV (Nov., 1949), 41–56.

ΠΡΟΣΚΗΔΗΣ, "MOURNFUL"

Editors, lexicographers, and translators of Homer find no difficulty in the following passage on Iphitus, except for one word:

τῷ δ' Ὀδυσεὺς ξίφος ὀξὺ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἔδωκεν,
ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος· οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ
γνώτην ἀλλήλων· πρὶν γὰρ Διὸς υἱὸς ἔπεφνεν
Ἴφιτον Εὐρυτίδην (*Od.* xxi. 34–37).

The nearest English equivalent of *προσκηδέος* ought to be "devoted" (or, more loosely, "intimate, affectionate"), according to the extant Greek definitions:

τῆς ποιούσης κηδεμονικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους (Sch. Vulg.).

κηδεμονικῆς φιλίας. κήδονται γὰρ ἀλλήλων οἱ φίλοι καὶ ξένοι (Sch. Ambr. B).

τὸ δὲ προσκηδέος ἀντὶ τοῦ κηδεμονικῆς, φροντιστικῆς, ἐμφρόντιδος. ἐναντίον δὲ τῷ προσκηδέος τὸ δυσκηδέος καὶ ἀκηδέος (Eustathius).

Eustathius in this case betrayed ignorance and carelessness by making *δυσκηδής* (*Od.* v. 466) the opposite of *προσκηδής* and implying that it is a synonym of *ἀκηδής* (*Il.* xxi. 123; xxiv. 554).

Most Renaissance scholars understood *ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος* differently.[1] Francesco Aretino, who translated the *Odyssey* around 1460,[2] made it "reverendi hospitii initium"; "reverendi" almost equals "binding." Raffaello da Volterra (1451–1522)[3] wrote, instead, "principium quidem charae [*sic*] hospitalitatis" ("the beginning of a precious friendship").

These interpretations gave way to "principium hospitalitatis dolorosae," which I find first in Andreas Divus of Capodistria (Venice, 1537; Paris, 1538). The same words appeared in the anonymous Basel edition of 1551 and were accepted by Ob. Giphanius, Aemilius Portus (whom Henricus Stephanus followed), and Johannes Spondanus—to mention scholars of the sixteenth century only. Sebastianus Castalio's "principium hospitalitatis calamitosae" (Basel, 1561) amounts to the same thing. The only vernacular translation worth quoting from that century is one in Castilian by Gonçalo Perez, which reads, "por principio doloroso / De la hospitalidad."[4]

This meaning of *προσκηδής* was generally accepted until the eighteenth century, when it was reaffirmed by Joshua Barnes (Cambridge, 1711) but censured as "minus recte" by Samuel Clarke (London, 1740), who, instead, wrote "principium hospitii necessarii." Since then, *προσκηδής* has been almost unanimously taken to mean "cordial, loving, close." A few poets have implied in their paraphrases that they understood the word otherwise.[5] And K. F. Ameis in his first edition (Leipzig, 1858) explained it as "neue Sorgen schaffend"; but by his third edition (1865), he had given this up in favor of "eng verbunden, liebevoll."

[1] For a comprehensive record of Homeric studies see Georg Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1912). A few very early versions of the *Odyssey*, by Leonzio Pilato, Francesco Filelfo, and Pier Candido Decembrio, have perished, or at any rate are now totally unobtainable. But others were printed several times and are represented in the Harvard College Library (not to mention other places) by at least one edition.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29. I know his work from Gregorius Maxillus' edition (Strassburg, 1510), which Finsler identifies as a copy of it.

[3] I have seen the Lyon edition of 1541.

[4] The others may be omitted, as either too unliteral or else based not on the Greek but on a Latin version already mentioned. Finsler does not mention the work of Perez (*La Ulixea de Homero* [Venice, 1562]); Spain falls outside his ken.

[5] William Cowper's *revised* translation (Boston, 1814) has "ill-fated pledges both / Of hospitality"; and Ippolito Pindemonte (Florence, 1823) renders it "d' una amistà non lunga unico pegno."

With such minor exceptions, Clarke's authority has been final; but it is time to dismiss his decision on προσκηδής not as absolutely wrong but as missing the main force of the word. It clearly ought to mean "mournful," for κῆδος in Homer always signifies "grief" or "trouble," especially lamentation for the dead. In some words the root κηδ- does not invariably express sorrow—κήδομαι (*Od.* iii. 223, etc.), κήδιστος (*Il.* ix. 642), and even ἀκηδής (*Od.* xix. 18), which has the κηδ$^{\epsilon}/_{o}$σ- stem in it. In the passages referred to, the meaning has shifted to "loving care"; but all these words, just as often or oftener, do imply pain. So etymology inclines us to look for it in any member of the κηδ- family.

The context—οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ, etc.—tells how the friendship was sorrowful, not how it was intimate or affectionate. προσκηδέος seems weak and otiose if it has the latter meaning, but very apt if it prepares us for the lines about the bow, which was Iphitus' gift to Odysseus:

> τὸ δ' οὔ ποτε δῖος 'Οδυσσεὺς
> ἐρχόμενος πόλεμόνδε μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν
> ᾑρεῖτ', ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μνῆμα ξείνοιο φίλοιο
> κέσκετ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, φόρει δέ μιν ἧς ἐπὶ
> γαίης (xxi. 38–41).

This suggests mourning or else superstitious fear. Either way the tokens of friendship were to Odysseus an unhappy reminder of his lost friend.

ἀρχὴν, too, calls for some lugubrious epithet after ξεινοσύνης, because "the beginning of a devoted friendship" does not fit the tone of ἀρχή in Homer. He uses it to mark the beginning of something bad (*Il.* xi. 604, xxii. 116; *Od.* viii. 81, xxi. 4, xxiv. 169; in *Il.* iii. 100 the text is doubtful).[6]

προσκηδής occurs nowhere else in Homer and only a few times in later authors, who apply it to persons:

> ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν ('Αλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν . . . . Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε) (Herodotus viii. 136).

[6] Not, however, in the phrase ἐξ ἀρχῆς, which first appears in the *Odyssey* (i. 188, xi. 438; ii. 254 = xvii. 69) and is already a somewhat attenuated formula; it means "from way back" and does not even imply any precise *beginning*.

> εἴτ' οὖν ὀθνείῳ μεμιασμένοι αἵματι χεῖρας,
> εἴτε καὶ ἐμφύλῳ προσκηδέες ἀντιόωσιν
> (Apollonius Rhodius iv. 716–17).

> εἰ μή οἱ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγγελον ἧκεν
> 'Ερμείαν, ὥς κεν προσκηδέος ἀντιάσειεν
> (*ibid.* iii. 587–88).

> οὐκ εἶχον διελεῖν προσκηδέες ὀστέα χωρίς
> (Theaetetus in *Anth. Pal.* vii. 444).

These passages give no assurance that it was continuously used or understood by the Greeks. προσκηδής modifies objects to which someone attaches κῆδος; it clearly means that in every case. But as κῆδος changes its meaning, so does the adjective προσκηδής. Herodotus uses it to express a tie by marriage. The poets apply it more loosely to any sort of kinship or affectionate interest. In the epigram by Theaetetus it means the next of kin or simply the dead men's "folks." Apollonius employs it once to reinforce ἐμφύλῳ, the other time merely to signify "hospitable, cordial." By Hellenistic times, if not earlier, προσκηδής was doubtless old-fashioned and poetic, not habitually used in any common idioms. If so, the scholia on it do not deserve much authority.

The question cannot be completely settled. For one thing, the manuscripts of the *Odyssey* exhibit, besides προσκηδέος, the variant readings περικηδέος and εὐκηδέος.[7] Even if we consider these textual variants irrelevant, Homer conceivably may still not have intended to appeal to the eye in ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος any more than in ξείνοιο φίλοιο. But this would be more likely in a philosophical or sophisticated age, when men develop many different words tod escribe inner and invisible feelings.[8] In Homer it is safer to think of ξεινοσύνη as meaning primarily that the two men exchanged gifts, and προσκηδής as referring to Odysseus' tears or funeral offerings.

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[7] We may doubt whether these two words really existed in Greek, since they are nowhere definitely attested.

[8] Cf. Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages," suppl. to C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (2d ed. rev.; New York, 1927), p. 386.

SCHOL. EUR. *MED.* 433: A FRAGMENT OF HERODORUS OF HERACLEIA?

ἀντὶ τοῦ· διαστείλασα καὶ διεξελθοῦσα τὰς Συμπληγάδας. ἤτοι διαπλεύσασα καὶ διελθοῦσα, παρόσον δύο τινῶν ὑποκειμένων ὁ διὰ μέσου γινόμενος ἑκάτερον ὁρίζει. καὶ Ἡ*ρόδοτος 'δείξειεν δεξιὰ μὲν ὁρίζων.' ἀεὶ γὰρ ὁ μέσος τινῶν γινόμενος διορίζει τὸν μὲν ἔνθεν, τὸν δὲ ἔνθεν.*

Schwartz notes: "non inveni, ipsa verba corrupta." There seem to be no such words in Herodotus; I suggest we have here another fragment from the *Argonautica* of Herodorus of Heracleia. A scribe could confuse Herodotus and Herodorus; cf. Athen. 13. 556 F; at Demetr. *de Eloc.* ii. 66 Emil Orth's Ἡ*ρόδωρος* seems likely.

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P RYL. 493 (AESOP[?] *FABLES*) Col. ii, ll. 23–24

ο δε υ̣ς̣ ελυμαινε[τ]ο̣ τ̣[. . . . .]α̣ς και
τα ποη̣ του ιππο̣[υ.] . [. . .] .η̣σ̣ε̣ν̣

So C. H. Roberts; I suggest *τὰς πηγὰς*, and *κατεπάτησεν* or *ἐνεπάτησεν*, after Aesop's (Chambry, 329) *τοῦ δὲ συὸς παρ ἕκαστα τὴν' πόαν διαφθείροντος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ θολοῦντος.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History. By M. CARY. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. viii+332. $7.50.

The purpose of Professor Cary's book is best expressed in his own words. He writes:

> In this book I have endeavoured to make a fresh contribution to a subject whose importance is now generally recognized, the influence of geographic environment on human history, in a study of this influence on the world of ancient Greece and Rome. So far as I am aware, no attempt has yet been made to pursue this theme in a comprehensive way, except in Professor Ellen Semple's excellent book, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, and the scope of her work does not extend beyond this region to those outlying countries which also figured in Greek and Roman history. A new survey of the entire subject in relation to the ancient Greeks and Romans may therefore be opportune.

Cary is too modest: a comprehensive geographical account of the Greco-Roman world has been a desideratum for many years, and nowhere has the need been greater than in the United States, where the study of geography is probably the weakest link in the educational chain. And it is seldom indeed that a more widespread want has been met in a more satisfying manner.

Cary's arrangement of his subject matter is a masterpiece of clarity and logic. His opening chapter is concerned with the Mediterranean area as a whole, and he begins with a discussion of the geographical unity of the area and its climate. He does not subscribe to the theory of climatic change but believes that the rather slight differences between ancient and modern weather conditions have come about because of human waste and neglect—in particular, because of unintelligent deforestation and its deleterious effects upon the regularity of water supply. The geological structure of the Mediterranean basin, its minerals, sea and land products, landscape, and communications are successively discussed, followed by brief but enlightening remarks concerning the general effects of the Mediterranean climate on certain social and political practices of the ancients.

The next two chapters (pp. 38–102) are concerned with Greece, the first including general observations under the headings of climate, geological structure, vegetation, minerals, communications, some geographical reasons for the rise of the city-state as the typical Greek political unit, and the effects of the climate on Greek warfare; the second taking up in detail the different regions of Greece, beginning with Epirus and Acarnania and ending with the Aegean islands. In similar fashion two chapters (pp. 103–50) deal with Italy: the first of these contains a general description of the climate, geological structure, communications, and their effects on politics and warfare; the second a detailed consideration of the various regions of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul to Sicily. The remainder of the book contains a survey of the Greco-Roman world outside Greece and Italy which proceeds around the Mediterranean in a clockwise direction from Asia Minor to the Balkans and which includes in the circuit the non-Mediterranean lands to which Greco-Roman civilization extended. As a result of this arrangement, repetitions have been kept to the minimum (only in the case of the Alpine lands are there any signs of overlapping), and careful planning is one of the main reasons why it has been possible for the author to cover such a great area in comprehensive fashion in the short space of three hundred pages of text.

Another reason is Cary's remarkable command of the English language. His prose is a model of lucidity and conciseness, which enables him to put the maximum of content into the minimum of space. Yet he always says only one thing at a time, so that his brevity does not result in confusion, and his complete mastery of his material, as well as his skill at coining

expressive phrases, prevents his conciseness from becoming dull. If for no other reason, his book could be recommended to students—and to many research scholars as well—as an outstanding example of what scholarly writing can be and ought to be. A paragraph, selected at random, will illustrate the nature of the whole.

> One city of Syria, however, habitually went its own way and maintained its own individuality. Ensconced within the mountain fastness of Judah and safeguarded against attack by steep ravines on three sides, the isolated bastion of Jerusalem was by nature a "city of refuge" rather than a centre of communications or a seat of empire. Significantly, it makes its first appearance in history as one of the last outposts of Egyptian rule in the declining years of the Eighteenth Dynasty (*c.* 1375 B.C.) and again as one of the last Canaanite fortressses to be carried by the incoming Israelites. When its captor, King David, converted it into a breeding-ground of power politics, he thrust upon it a part for which Nature had not cast it; indeed its subsequent political history was largely taken up with protracted but generally successful sieges. But when David made it the capital of a spiritual realm he prepared it for its true function in world history. Jerusalem in Palestine, like Delphi in Greece, was well situated to be a place of "withdrawal," where contemplative minds could at their leisure think out a New Order [p. 174].

Individual sentences are equally brilliant and suggestive. "This district [Thessaly] is a box-like compartment with an almost level floor and four upright sides" (p. 61); "as a result of this geographical bisection [the intrusion of Lake Copais], Boeotia was bedevilled with political dualism which largely determined her history" (p. 71); "Corinth . . . with the exception of Timoleon . . . did not produce (subsequent to Periander) a single political leader of pan-Hellenic rank. Geographical factors count for much in history, but personality is an even greater force" (p. 84); "the difficulties of siegecraft in ancient Italy may be part reason why the Romans often gave liberal terms to enemies whom they had defeated in battle" (p. 112); "the Greek colonists who selected Chalcedon in preference to Byzantium were 'blind' only in the sense that they had too good an eye for Chalcedon's fine hinterland" (p. 158); "the Indian rain it was that inflicted on Alexander his one and only defeat" (p. 200); "despite its compact shape, the Spanish peninsula has hardly ever experienced political unity except under Roman rule" (p. 239); "it is doubtful whether the Baltic ever carried a Greek or Roman keel" (p. 274).

The most serious general shortcoming in recently published books concerned with ancient history, and especially in ancient history textbooks, is their lack of adequate maps; and, since Kiepert's sheet maps have been virtually unobtainable since the war and both Murray's and Everyman's collections are hard to find, a good plate map today is something of a rarity. Cary's solution of the map problem is therefore interesting. Instead of a few plate maps, his book contains twenty-three line-drawing maps located at various points within his text. They show the major elevations of land, principal cities, rivers, bays, capes, etc., and sometimes the routes of ancient roadways; however, with one exception (p. 261), no attempt has been made to indicate points of secondary interest, so that the maps are not cluttered up with unimportant detail and the main features of the district illustrated stand forth with more than usual distinctness. The plan of placing the map of a given area adjacent to the textual description of that area, instead of putting all the maps together in one part of the volume, makes for more comfortable reading, and much irritating turning of pages is thereby avoided.

In spite of this convenient arrangement, however, the maps do not come up to the high standard set by the text. The text is a marvel of accuracy: misprints are very rare, misspellings are completely absent, and, so far as I have been able to discover, the only factual error is the statement that Korakou is located west (instead of east) of Lechaeum (p. 82). Furthermore, in the matter of the spelling of proper names, Cary has adopted the sensible principle that each proper name be given in its most common form, whether that form is transliterated from the Greek, has been Latinized or Anglicized, or is a hybrid spelling (even the most extreme advocates of exact transliteration of Greek proper names

inconsistently refuse to write "Athenai" or "Qorinthos"); Cary is therefore quite consistent when he writes "Samos," "Cyprus," "Rhodes," and "Cos." In the maps, however, there are occasional inconsistencies in the use of names (e.g., "Padus" and "Po" in the same map on p. 114; "Trasumenus," "Arno," and "Tiberis" on p. 124 but "Trasimenus," "Arnus," and "Tiberus" on p. 114), a few misspellings ("Ampissa," p. 66; "Halacmon," p. 39), and, in one case at least, an outright blunder (for "Messene" on pp. 136–37 read either "Messina" or "Messana"). The omission of important roads in maps which indicate secondary roads is also peculiar: for example, the map of South Italy and Sicily on pages 136–37 indicates the Via Valeria but does not show the more important Via Appia and Via Popilia; and the map of the Balkan peninsula on pages 296–97 indicates the route of the Via Egnatia only as far as Thessalonica and does not mark its later extension to Byzantium, even though roads in Moesia of later date and less importance than the extension are shown. The locations of Cape Malea and of Mount Etna are nowhere indicated in any map. The map of northern Syria on page 170 contains little that could not have been included in the map of Syria and Palestine on page 166; on the other hand, we miss an adequate map of the Peloponnesus.

These, however, are minor matters after all, and they can easily be adjusted before the second printing, which it is easy to prophesy will soon be needed. It is seldom indeed that so much of value has been given in so short a space. Cary has read, mastered, and summarized an enormous amount of material, far more than his very select Bibliography and concise footnotes mention,[1] and it is evident also from his vivid descriptions of scenery that he has traveled widely in most of the lands of which he writes. Beginners in ancient history will find that his clarity of arrangement and exposition, as well as his adequate Index, make his book one of exceptional usefulness—indeed, the undergraduates to whom I assigned it during the past year as a supplementary textbook reported enthusiastically that it was the most helpful volume in the whole library—and those who are further advanced will find it stimulating because of its succinct prose, its wealth of accurate information, and its many sensible observations and sound judgments. It would not be inappropriate to say of the work, as Cicero said of Archias, "famam expectatio, expectationem adventus admiratioque superavit."

[1] At the risk of appearing impertinent in suggesting an addition to a bibliography that does not profess to be complete, one is tempted to add to it the definitive volume of J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (London, 1939), which contains not only by far the most accurate and detailed geographical description of that island that has been written in any language but also many valuable observations on the geological structure of the eastern Mediterranean.

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Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII). Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1949. Pp. xvi+427; frontispiece+48 figs.+64 pls. Paper, $15.00.

The late Theodore Leslie Shear was a distinguished classicist and archeologist in his own right, as his Bibliography (pp. vii–xi, prepared by Mrs. Josephine Shear) will attest; but he will best be remembered as the man to whom, more than to any other, is due the remarkable success of the American excavations in the Athenian Agora. Of extraordinary executive ability, Shear organized and guided the project from its inception on a scientific plane never before attained and gathered together and trained a staff of young students of archeology, ever urging upon them precise exploration, detailed recording, meticulous study, and prompt publication. In the words of the Preface to the *Commemorative Studies*, "his supreme reward was that a young and able generation of archaeologists found inspiration under his direction, and inherited his exacting standards. Through them his work will live on."

The book published in honor of his memory contains forty-three articles from his former colleagues, associates, and students. Appropriately enough, nearly all the articles are concerned with some phase of Greek archeology, and nearly every archeological specialty

is represented by at least one article; this wide range of subject matter is a reflection of the many ways in which the Agora excavations have contributed to our knowledge of the ancient world.

The collection contains eight contributions in the field of Greek epigraphy. S. Dow shows that a hitherto unpublished fragment from the Agora (Inv. No. I, 2388) and *IG*, II², 1716, have come from the same original stele, which contained a list of archons and other officials from 87/6 to 52/1 B.C. W. S. Ferguson analyzes carefully three inscriptions relating to the worship of Bendis (cf. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. [1937], pp. 808 ff.) and concludes that the cult was introduced into Athens in 430/29 B.C. B. D. Meritt has collated the notebook of Francis Vernon, a seventeenth-century English traveler who transcribed many inscriptions, with modern publications; finds twenty texts that are not recorded elsewhere; and, on the basis of Vernon's readings, re-edits several known texts, of which the most important is *IG*, II², 1100. J. H. Oliver assigns the poet Sarapion of Athens to the first century after Christ in the light of epigraphic evidence and collects from inscriptions the extant works of T. Flavius Glaucus, also an Athenian poet, who flourished in the mid-third century after Christ. A posthumous article of A. W. Parsons identifies Pantainos the donor of the library in the Agora with Pantainos the archon of "shortly after A.D. 102" (cf. *Hesperia*, XI [1942], 86; XV [1946], 233); the more recent assignment of Pantainos' archonship to the year 115/6 (cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII [1949], 26) does not appear to weaken Parsons' argument. W. K. Pritchett publishes a stele found in the Agora, which contains the names of forty-nine ephebes of the phyle Oineis and dates about the year 330 B.C. A. E. Raubitschek restores eighteen scattered fragments as six inscriptions relating to the Emperor Commodus; one restored text makes Commodus himself the Athenian archon of the year 188/9. G. P. Stevens and E. Vanderpool report the text of an inscribed *kouros* base of *ca.* 540 B.C. which was found in an illicit digging in Attica and which was later located by D. M. Robinson.

In the field of Greek architecture, A. K. Orlandos corrects important details of Penrose's arrangement of the roof of the Parthenon in the light of newly discovered fragments; W. B. Dinsmoor, under the arresting title, "The Largest Temple in the Peloponnesos," re-creates in his usual brilliant manner a long-neglected Doric temple at Corinth; M. Crosby publishes definitively the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora, concluding that it was dedicated in 522/1 B.C., was severely damaged by the Persians, and was largely rebuilt about 430 B.C.; and L. T. Shoe, examining the uses of dark stone in Greek buildings, notes that Mnesikles, the architect of the Propylaia, was the greatest innovator in this respect. A masterly article from the pen of B. H. Hill appears to have settled a recent and strongly debated controversy concerning the Athenian Hephaisteion. Hill maintains that the now famous epistyle block of the upper entablature of the interior colonnade neither was bonded into the cella wall (Dinsmoor) nor rested on an anta (Broneer) but was supported by two of the columns; he concludes that the two-story colonnade had seven columns on each side and four at the rear (west) end, and that course X of the cella wall marks the level of the lower architrave and course XVI the upper architrave, above which was a molded string course, upon which the wooden ceiling beams rested.

Four unusually valuable articles are concerned with numismatics. S. P. Noe's re-emphasis of legitimate and illegitimate uses of the evidence of coin hoards and his restatement of Gresham's law as it applies to ancient coinage combines authoritative exposition with a very pleasing prose style; A. R. Bellinger's careful analysis of the Attic "new-style" tetradrachms supersedes all previous work on the subject, and his chronological arrangement of types marks a great advance; M. Thompson publishes a small hoard of gold coins from the Bosporan kingdom in exemplary fashion; and E. G. S. Robinson revises a portion of the decree of *ca.* 449 B.C. whereby Athens sought to regulate the currency circulating within her empire (cf. *Clara Rhodos*, IX [1938], 151 ff.; *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, 579), reviews all the coinages of the tributary states from 480 to

400 B.C. and shows that, while the decree seems to have been enforced in the Aegean islands and southwestern Asia Minor (with a few notable exceptions), it apparently had little effect in the rest of Asia Minor or in Thrace. Three articles deal with topographical matters. C. W. Blegen locates classical Aulis on the hill of Megalo Vouno bordering the Bay of Aulis and on the adjacent promontory and finds the site of ancient Hyria four miles to the southeast on the top of a mound north of the village of Dramesi; O. Broneer concludes that Plato's *Critias* 111E–112E, contrary to generally accepted opinions, contains topographical information of value if used with caution; J. Travlos discusses the buildings on the west side of the Athenian Agora, differing from the view of Thompson as to the probable location of the Stoa Basileios and—to judge from his over-all plan of the buildings—from the view of Hill with regard to the interior of the Hephaisteion.

Minor branches of Greek archeology are well represented. In the field of Greek gems, G. M. A. Richter points out that the styles and techniques of "Greco-Persian" gems of the fifth and fourth centuries show that the gems were engraved by Greek artists hired by the Persians; and D. M. Robinson publishes his truly magnificent collection of ancient gems and jewelry. V. Grace suggests that the purpose of stamps on amphora handles was to guarantee not the contents of the amphora—clearly impossible, since the stamps were imprinted before the jars were fired—but its capacity, and examines different standards of capacity in amphorae of various dates and provenience. E. Vanderpool lists all ostraka discovered before 1946 and publishes new Agora ostraka containing the names of twenty-two obscure individuals: their very obscurity suggests the possibility that the practice of ostracism may have been used occasionally by some Athenians for ventilating petty grudges. In her article, "Sandon and Herakles," H. Goldman rejects the theory that Sandon, a local god of Tarsus whose attributes included a club and a bow, was an oriental progenitor of the Greek hero and suggests that the two may have been identified during the reign of Alexander the Great.

Equally outstanding in their various fields are the contributions of R. Carpenter, F. F. Jones, C. H. Morgan, H. R. W. Smith, D. B. Thompson, H. A. Thompson, and A. J. B. Wace (sculpture), J. D. Beazley, M. Bieber, and F. O. Waage (pottery), C. Bonner and R. S. Young (amulets), E. Capps, Jr. (painting), H. L. Crosby, C. A. Robinson, Jr., and L. Van Hook (studies based primarily on literary sources). A refreshing innovation is contained in two short articles by E. R. Caley and M. Farnsworth concerning the chemical analysis of some of the Agora finds.

The physical aspects of the book merit a word of approbation. The print is the same clear type that we have come to appreciate in *Hesperia*, the illustrations in the text and the plates are clear and well chosen, and the editing has been careful and competent. The volume is a fitting tribute both to the many-sided nature of Shear's interests and to the high standards of exact scholarship that he did so much to promote.

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Fragmentum Vaticanum de eligendis magistratibus e codice bis rescripto Vat. Gr. 2306. Edidit WOLFGANGUS ALY. ("Studî e testi," No. 104.) Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana, 1943. Pp. 53+3 pls.

Habent sua fata libelli. Here published for the first time are the surviving fragments of a Greek political treatise which was composed between 318 and 307 B.C. and preserved by the normal process of transmission for at least ten centuries. A copy in good uncials of the first half of the sixth century A.D. was erased and the parchment reused for a writing which was, in turn, erased when two leaves were taken for inclusion in a copy of the Pentateuch now in the Vatican. That a valuable text lay latent on these leaves was first remarked by Cardinal Mai, who seems to have done no more than apply the reagents which produced a progressive deterioration of the parchment. About a century later Cardinal Mercati made preliminary studies and photographic reproductions, which he intrusted to Aly when the latter began work on the present *editio princeps.* After

remaining in type for eleven years vainly awaiting the completion of a promised *Corollarium Theophrasteum* by Wilhelm Crönert, the edition was at last published—in a year in which the world's energies were concentrated on the dissemination of bombs rather than of learning.

A glance at the photographic reproductions at the end of this little volume will show to even the most casual eye how much devoted labor and unremitting diligence the editor must have given to study of almost imperceptible vestiges of writing. The text thus recovered is printed twice: a diplomatic edition in handsome uncials is paralleled by an edited text with the necessary punctuation, restorations, supplements, and corrections. The text is followed by a verbatim translation and a compendious commentary on the contents, language, and probable authorship of the treatise.

There are really two fragments, totaling 342 uncial lines. The first, consisting of 78 lines broken by a gap of 10 lines in the middle, deals with the procedures used to scrutinize the conduct of magistrates before they are finally released from the offices which they have held. The second fragment, six columns of continuous text, discusses what qualifications should be used to determine eligibility for office and points out the advantages of a definite *cursus honorum* leading to the highest office, that of *strategos*. The author is evidently seeking to draw conclusions from the collective experience of all the Greek states, and, since he alludes to the institutions of even such minor political entities as Carystus and Cythnus, he must have had at his disposal the Aristotelian collection of constitutions. The most noteworthy *hapax legomena* in our text are probably local terms retained for the sake of accuracy; thus ἀβούλευτος (*qui senatui nondum interfuit*), ὑποδεῖν (*imponere sacramentum alicui*),[1] and τὸ φθινίχον[2] (*iudicium finale?*) probably describe situations and procedures peculiar to the institutions of Ambracia, Locri Epizephyrii, and Megalopolis, respectively.

The editor has treated his text very conservatively—perhaps too conservatively. Although it is almost an impertinence for a passing reviewer to suggest improvements in editorial work which bears in every line evidence of long and meticulous labor, I do not see how the text in B 37-42, where the author raises the question of what qualifications should be requisite for the various offices, can be either understood as acceptable Greek or reconciled to the subsequent context except by assuming the loss by homeoarcton of one uncial line, thus: φαί|νεται δ' οὖν καθό|λου τινὰ σκέψιν | ἔχειν, τίνας δεῖ | κατὰ πλοῦτον καὶ | ⟨ἀρετὴν ἢ κατ'⟩ ἀρετὴν μόνον | ἢ πλοῦτον. (Understand: τίνας ἄρχοντας δεῖ αἱρεῖσθαι *e.q.s.*) The author proceeds to report the view that, while financial responsibility is the requirement for fiscal offices and justice for judicial functions, a *strategos* should, for the sake of his own dignity, have private means as well as *aretē*. In some other passages emendations can be avoided only by assuming specialized meanings, otherwise unrecorded, for certain words, as for παρεμβαλεῖν in B 127, which must be a technical term used by hunters, if the passage is to bear what seems to me to be the only possible sense: Hagno, who probably had the young Alcibiades particularly in mind, argued that the Athenians should place some young men on the board of generals, just as hunters train young dogs (σκύλακας) by associating them with experienced dogs in the hunt (cf. Xen. *Cyn.* vii. 6 ff.).

The editor's restorations are generally cogent, and I think we should regard as certain one which he himself has questioned. In B 241 the author, having remarked, apropos of the cumulation of offices, that members of such bodies as the Carthaginian γεροντία, composed of ex-magistrates, may thereby enjoy too much influence after their term of office has expired, exclaims with unusual emotion: ἔτι δὲ ἐν ἱ[εροῖς] σιτήσονται· τοῦτο πειρατέον ἀνατρέπειν. This, it seems to me, is a definite allusion to the secret nocturnal meetings (συσσίτια) of the Carthaginian Council in the Temple of Eshmūn, whence was exerted a tyrannical control over the entire state.

[1] The definitions are taken from Aly's translation. If we may judge from the somewhat similar use of the verb known to Hesychius as an "Italianism," *pignora capere* would also be possible.

[2] The word occurs only in the genitive plural (A 53); Aly (p. 44) apparently regards it as neuter.

The treatise here published will make very considerable contributions to our knowledge of the political institutions of the Greek world—and even, perhaps, of the Roman, since it expounds a theory of the *cursus honorum* which may have directly influenced Roman practice. Some of the new evidence, however, will have to be examined with great care, for there are obscurities of the kind that are inevitable in a work written for a select audience of contemporaries who were perfectly familiar with much that is yet unknown to us. In A 20–30, for example, the author, after remarking that even the Spartans are reported to have found that it was inadvisable to leave any part of a magistrate's conduct unexamined, says: *τοιγὰρ σκυτάλῃ ἀνακρίνουσιν οὕτως καὶ ἀνακρίναντες ἐκκαλοῦσιν τῇ [ὥ]ρᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὃ καὶ Κλεομένης ἐποίησεν ὁ βασ[ι]λεὺς ἐν τῇ κρίσει τῇ ἐς Κλεόλαν.* Aly interprets this as a reference to a procedure in which a preliminary hearing before a select board was followed by a formal trial before "the others," i.e., a larger assembly. However, since the *scytale* was, in effect, a system of transposition ciphers used for diplomatic correspondence, is it not more logical to suppose that it was used, when a prompt decision on the conduct of magistrates who had served abroad was necessary, to transmit the testimony of witnesses who could not appear in person before the tribunal in Sparta and that, when these confidential reports had been examined, "the others," i.e., the witnesses in Sparta, were called in to testify? As for the allusion to a once famous "crisis" in the now obscure reign of Cleomenes II, is it possible that this Cleolas was the Clitorian concerned in the founding of Megalopolis and that he once served as a Spartan magistrate? *Viderint historici.*

Although he has with commendable caution refrained from placing his conclusion on the title-page, Aly believes that the author of this work can, with a high degree of probability, be identified as Theophrastus and that the fragments may come from the short treatise *Quo pacto civitates optime administrentur.*[3] The fact that the work was preserved until the sixth century is a fair guaranty that it must have been transmitted under the aegis of some great name; and, since Aly has shown that the date of composition must fall between 318 and 307, that the writer was probably a Peripatetic, and that the language is appropriate for an Athenian of the late fourth century, it does indeed seem likely that we have here a part of one of the lost works of the intellectually prolific successor of Aristotle. What remains to be done, however, is to ascertain whether the marked stylistic peculiarities of this treatise (e.g., the two adverbs in the passage last quoted above) are also to be found in any of the extant works of Theophrastus. The style and method of discussion shown in these fragments distinctly remind me of the long Theophrastean passage, probably from the *De legibus*, quoted by Stobaeus (= Frag. 97 *ap.* Wimmer), but it is pointless to record general impressions where positive determinations should be possible.[4]

With this exception (which is probably to be explained by some planned division of work between the editor and Crönert), Aly's work belongs to the best classical tradition: it is thorough, concise, and written in the native language of humane scholarship.

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Virgil's Mind at Work. By ROBERT W. CRUTTWELL. Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Co., 1947. Pp. ix+182. $2.50.

Virgil's mind was filled with all the learning of his age, as Servius long ago observed. But it was not his way to reduce to bare and unambiguous form the rich conceptions of his poetic imagination; there can be no sympathetic reader of Virgil whose eyes have not been suddenly opened, with a shock of pleasure and surprise, to the symbolic power and variety of the connotations lying behind some well-remem-

[3] It may be noted that this title appears near the end of the long catalogue of the works of Theophrastus given by Diogenes Laërtius (v. 2. 49); one wonders what principle, if any, was used in compiling the list.

[4] Since the foregoing review was written, a thorough discussion of Aly's edition by Francesco Sbordone in *La parola del passato*, III (1948), 269–90, became available. Sbordone adduces stylistic evidence which supports the attribution to Theophrastus, argues that the treatise was probably written between 322 and 318, and proposes a number of emendations, one of which is virtually the same as that which I suggested above for B 37–42.

bered line or phrase. There is, therefore, good reason to welcome studies that attempt to discover the pattern of associations that binds together, partly by the poet's express intention, partly without his conscious knowledge, the whole poetic structure of the *Aeneid*. But, conversely, there are most formidable difficulties that confront anyone who sets out to make explicit by logical analysis and exposition what the poet has preferred us to feel instinctively and intuitively and what even the poet himself did not consciously know. These difficulties can be surmounted, if at all, only by one who can bring to his aid both the sober learning of the scholar and the quick sympathy and insight of the poet. Cruttwell in his interpretation has drawn on his own long study of the text of Virgil, the standard works on ancient religion, and the bold theories of W. F. Jackson Knight. Of insight Cruttwell possesses not a little, although it is often thwarted by an ingenuity that insists on the significance of the slightest verbal echo and creates, out of the similarities thus discovered, a system of analogous relations.

The difficulty of the task is not lessened by the type of exposition chosen by Cruttwell. He has written a series of chapters, each named after a pair of the complementary symbols that he finds in the *Aeneid*, beginning with gods, men, and places ("Venus and Cybele," "Iulus and Julius," "Troy and Rome") and advancing to the more important (and obscure) symbols that underlie the whole poem ("Ashes and Spirit," "Tomb and Womb"). The argument is cumulative and involves much repetition. The style is labyrinthine and precious; the author's sentences are plentifully sprinkled with citations of the text that hinder or even deter the reader. The book, therefore, is not readily intelligible, and it may be characterized by one of Cruttwell's typical phrases: it is only "conditionally penetrable."

There are many symbolic motifs in the *Aeneid*, according to Cruttwell; there are wild bees and tame bees, the domestic and constructive fire of Vesta and the crematory and destructive fire of Vulcan, the defensive symbolism of the maze in Aeneas' shield and in the "Trojan Game," and many more besides. But Cruttwell finds the key to the symbolism of the *Aeneid* in the *tabula Iliaca*, which he thinks is connected with the cult of Vesta at Bovillae. In two of the scenes depicted on it (no mention is made of a third and apparently equally significant scene), Anchises is represented as carrying with him in the flight from Troy a domed receptacle containing the *sacra*. This receptacle, because of its shape, suggests the *aedes Vestae* at Rome, which was a survival of the old houses of the Roman kings and perhaps of the kings of Alba Longa; these, in turn, are modeled on early Latin "beehive-huts," as were the "hut-urns" of the early Latins. The foundation of Rome, which is the theme of the *Aeneid*, was symbolized by these beehive huts, so that Virgil unconsciously appropriated this beehive shape as a symbol of Aeneas' destiny. The "hut-urn" carried by Aeneas is, literally and figuratively (on more than one level of figurativeness), filled with the ancestors of Troy's royal house, the smoldering ashes of their city, and the destiny of their race. Dardanus is found to be the "king-bee" and the Dardanidae the bees; hence the relevance of the beehive-shaped hut-urn and the appearance of bees in the *Aeneid*. Further, Virgil associates the spirit of the dead with its ashes; thus the "hut-urn" contains both spirit and ashes of the Trojan race and is the focus of a symbolism representing life after death. Its "ring-walls" represent the defense of Troy (which itself has a symbolic meaning), as well as the great revolution of the cosmos (to which Iulus escapes from the cycle of reincarnation), not to mention the great walls of Elysium. It stands in a similar relation, on the one hand, to the Temple of Vesta and, on the other, to the Earth, each with its fire within. In Elysium there is a reconciliation of all the opposite symbols of the poem, and the final limit of symbolism is found in the sow and her litter in Book viii. This last point is made in a passage (pp. 169 f.) that may be cited as a fair sample of the book:

> In the last analysis, therefore, the *Aeneid's* symbolism implies the reincarnational equivalence of the entombment of Dardanus' Troy for eventual resurrection to an enwombment of Romulus' Rome for eventual birth; this Trojan-

Roman tomb-womb equivalence, poetically symbolized by Virgil both explicitly under the figure of an Earth-equivalent Elysium which spiritually manifests the Earth-hidden secrets of Aeneas' Dardan-Romulean destiny and implicitly under the figure of a Hearth-equivalent hut-urn which materially manifests the Hearth-hidden secrets of Aeneas' Dardan-Romulean destiny, belonging properly to the Hearth-equivalent Earth herself as that All-Mother (*Terra Parens:* IV. 178; *Terrae omniparentis:* VI. 595) and that First of Gods (*primamque deorum Tellurem:* VII. 136–137) who is at once the universal tomb of the past and the universal womb of the future, and whose fertility-symbol amongst the Early Latin makers of hut-urns for earth-burial was a sow with young.

Thus Cruttwell's whole case depends on the significance of the somewhat obscure receptacle carried by Anchises on the *tabula Iliaca.* Is it certain that it was connected with the rites of Bovillae? Is its resemblance to a beehive significant or merely superficial? In other representations, at least, it is of a different shape. (It appears to be an *aedicula;* cf. Daremberg-Saglio *s.v.*) Cruttwell assumes that it illustrates the associations of Virgil's mind as absorbed from his Italian heredity and environment, although the scenes in question are ostensibly fashioned by a Greek artist after Stesichorus' account of the sack of Ilium. Is it truly relevant to the symbolism of the *Aeneid?* Certainly, no such receptacle is ever mentioned or clearly suggested in the poem. The connection between the *tabula* and the *Aeneid* is thought to be confirmed by a study of the associations that Cruttwell finds in the *Aeneid.* Proof of a mental association may be found in the echo of a word or words in two different passages, no matter how different in content; in the "coupling" of words or ideas, even if they be separated by hundreds of lines; in genealogical relationships; in etymological interpretations; and in the choice of illustrations for similes.

In order that this structure may be bolstered up, many passages are excessively pressed or even distorted, sometimes in plain defiance of what Virgil says. In order that he may account for the presence of the figure designated as Misenus on the *tabula,* Cruttwell attempts (pp. 155–57) to prove that Misenus' death is not only a symbolic substitute for the destruction of the whole house of Dardanus but also Juno's punishment both of Aeolus and of Neptune; all this, despite the fact that Virgil explicitly states (vi. 137 f.) that it was Triton's work and that Venus, in accusing Juno and her agents, names Iris (x. 38), but not Triton. Again, for his own purposes (p. 151) Cruttwell finds an "apparent contradiction" in the references to Sychaeus now as *cinerem aut . . . Manis sepultos,* now as *inhumati . . . imago coniugis;* he does not point out that Dido's flight to Carthage has intervened between i. 353 f., on the one hand, and iv. 34 and 383, on the other. When Sychaeus' *imago* appeared to Dido, he was unburied. In iv. 34 his ashes are buried. Moreover, there is no more reason to suppose that *inhumati* and *cinerem* refer to different kinds of burial than there is (for example) to find two different theories of the state of the dead in *Manis . . . sepultos.* There is, then, no contradiction here. At many other points Cruttwell has chosen to follow his fancy and to ignore surer guides. It is not necessary (p. 67) to find a reference to Xanthus to explain the "yellow Tiber." The Homeric influence in xii. 764, *ludicrum,* is neglected (p. 88). In other passages standard works might have been used profitably in an attempt to explain the omens of the *Aeneid*: the symbolism of the fire on Lavinia's head (pp. 135 f.) (cf. Pease *ad* Cic. *De div.* i. 121); the omen of the bees in vii. 58–70 (p. 139), an omen of the approach of danger in Livy xxiv. 10; the simile of the bees in vi. 703–9 (pp. 140 f.) (cf. Norden *ad loc.* and, for the connection of the bees with the dead, cf. Pease *ad* Cic. *De div.* i. 73). On "ashes and spirit" cf. Pease *ad Aen.* iv. 34 and 427. But, more often than not, the interpretation chosen is defended as the only one that explains the difficulty that Cruttwell professes to find. In general, there is an air of certainty, not to say dogmatism, that is quite out of place in a book of this kind.

Misprints are distressingly common; the Greek on page 114 appears to be something worse than a misprint.

There is a number of things for which Virgilian scholars may thank Cruttwell: the at-

tempt to find significance in the choice of patronymics; the treatment of the symbolism of fire in the *Aeneid* (even if we may suspect that for Virgil, as for Cicero [*Ad Att.* i. 14. 3], it was *totum hunc locum quem ego varie meis orationibus . . . soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro*); the discussion of the symbolism of Cybele and Venus in connection with Aeneas. Most of all will the book be useful if it turns scholars' minds to the problem of Virgil's symbolism.

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On Some Greek Proverbial Phrases. By REINHOLD STRÖMBERG. Göteborg: Gumperts Förlag, 1947. Pp. 25.

Grekiska Ordspråk: En Antologi översatt och försedd med korta Förklaringar. By REINHOLD STRÖMBERG. Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1949. Pp. 62.

The first of these two pamphlets is prefaced by a short paragraph referred to in one of the indexes (!) as "history of research of Greek proverbs." Herein the author states, among other things, that the most important task yet to be accomplished in this field is a new edition of the Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum. That will sound plausible to most readers, although it is, in reality, a very dubious proposition. A new edition of the old Corpus would be very costly in terms of scholarly effort, and the benefits resulting therefrom for students of Greek paroemiography in general would be relatively small. What we need most is a totally new corpus of modern make, which will be independent of the ancient and medieval collections as such and, at the same time, more complete and far less repetitious. Such a corpus will contain every proverb recorded or explained by the various Greek paroemiographers from Zenobius to Apostolius, each proverb being critically edited according to its best tradition; but, apart from that, it will also contain many proverbs taken from Greek authors that are not to be found in the Greek collections. Here is something that really needs to be done.

Another thing that we are told in the Preface is that very little attention has been given to the origins, intrinsic content, and employment of the proverbs. That is true in the sense that few scholars have undertaken to write about proverbs, either singly or en masse, unless they were able, by so doing, to throw some real light upon their meaning and origin. Otto Crusius, for example, who made many useful contributions at various times, would never leap forward to talk about proverbs or anything else in print unless he had something significant to say, nor, for that matter, would many another scholar of similar reputation. But Strömberg is more courageous. He thinks that something ought to be said *anyhow*, and preferably by himself. Without being able to solve any problems—although he sometimes discovers a "problem" by means of its obvious solution—he offers us a generous amount of useless discussion, well garnished with learned-looking citations and references designed to make an impression upon those who are not familiar with the subject. Except for the quotation of the story from Aelian on page 12, which explains κόραξ ὑδρεύει and is not mentioned in the Corpus, Strömberg has little or nothing to contribute in the way of interpretation that is not either self-evident in the proverbs themselves or familiar to any student of the subject. In the Corpus, we are told, there are several proverbs which should be considered together (?) because their action takes place in or at a well or pit, such as "to fight with dogs in a well," "the wolf dances around the well" (frustration), "to dig a pit for others and fall into it," "the dance about the well" (risky, cf. ἐπὶ ξυροῦ), and "the crow is fetching water" (i.e., not accomplishing anything). Of course, these are five very different ideas; but it is enough for Strömberg's purpose (whatever that may be; cf. "it will be proved," p. 6) to note that in each case we meet with some kind of hole in the ground, except for κόραξ ὑδρεύει, where the crow was, indeed, on his way to a well, although he never got there. By this kind of motivation, hinged on incidental or external similarities, the author manages to bring in for brief mention quite a number of Greek proverbs and groups of proverbs, ac-

companied at times by parallels from the lore of other nations. The proverbs themselves are interesting enough, and some of the bibliographical references may be found useful. Incidentally, if Strömberg were really interested in the well-locality, as he seems to imply, he could hardly fail to discuss the curious proverb Ἀγαμεμνόνεια φρέατα. In that there may be some history.

The second booklet makes a much better impression than the first and should be welcome both to the Swedish readers, for whom it is primarily intended, and to scholars who may be collecting data on separate proverbs. It is an anthology of 251 proverbs, classified according to the general ideas, or types, that they represent and accompanied by brief explanations and cross-references wherever the author has something interesting or significant to note. Some of the cross-references, both to ancient authors and to modern critical literature, are unusual and therefore especially welcome. Since the author has wisely refrained from attempting any kind of completeness, many proverbs are left unannotated except for the indication of their source and meaning, and here and there the reader may miss a reference to some apposite and well-known passage of ancient literature. Thus, even in a brief commentary, Babrius 120 was worth citing on No. 66; Hes. *Op.* 686 on 75; Petronius 45 (*manus manum lavat*) on 94; Babrius 125 on 100; Soph. *Philoct.* 446 on 113; Phaedrus i. 16 and 17 on 129; Horace *Ars* 139 and Phaedrus iv. 24 on 135; Theocr. x. 53 on 203; Aḥikar on 207; Lucian *Herm.* 84 (Aesop) on 208; Quintilian v. 11. 21 on 243; Babrius 60 (instead of Halm 292) on 244; Phaedrus v. 6 on 250; etc.

The booklet is attractively illustrated with nine reproductions from coins and vase paintings, picturing such topics as bringing down the moon, the first swallow of springtime, the Scythians with their horses (No. 194), lion with sword and shield (No. 217), Cadmus and the dragon burlesqued (No. 237). Each proverb is preceded by a Swedish translation or paraphrase.

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Das Mutterrecht. By Johann Jakob Bachofen. Mit Unterstützung von Harald Fuchs, Gustav Meyer und Karl Schefold herausgegeben von Karl Meuli. Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co. Verlag, 1948. Vol. I, pp. 1–529; Vol. II, pp. 531–1177. 9 plates. 65 francs.

In 1861 Johann Jakob Bachofen published his greatest book, *Das Mutterrecht*, a pioneer work that was destined to provoke much discussion and to stimulate a vast amount of research by later scholars.[1] His investigations were restricted to the ancient world, and he ransacked the classics for his material. As was inevitable, some of his views had to be modified and others discarded,[2] a fate similar to that which befell Sir Charles Lyell in his work on geology and Charles Darwin in his researches in the field of biology. Perfection in any monumental pioneer work of scholarship is as impossible of attainment as it was in the first steamboat or the first automobile. As has been said of new points of view in general, "It is quite amateurish and unscientific to ask more of a theory than that it should excite the search, in its own generation, for deeper truth."[3]

One careful student of Bachofen's contributions to the subject of mother right said of him in 1927 that "single-handed, with no hint from predecessors or contemporaries, in the face of a solid wall of prejudice more massive even than that which confronted Darwin, and working from the limited field of classical scholarship alone, [he] first perceived one of the most momentous and fundamental facts of social

[1] The stockpiling of ideas and articles about mother right and kindred subjects in later periods and for other peoples continues apace. A three-volume work by Robert Briffault, *The Mothers: A Study of the Origins of Sentiments and Institutions* (New York, 1927), contains a bibliography of 197 pages. The reader who wishes to get a brief survey of the literature on the subject of mother right during the first half century after the appearance of Bachofen's book may profitably consult the article by W. H. R. Rivers in James Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 8 (1915), 851–59.

[2] The editor of the new edition calls attention to some erroneous views (pp. 1110–13).

[3] D. C. Peattie, *Green Laurels* (New York, 1936), p. 318.

history."[4] Another estimate of his work states that he "must be given credit for having pointed out the existence of a historical sequence among the various marriage and family forms and for having thereby stimulated present day interest and research in the family customs of primitive peoples."[5] If, as Emerson tells us, "an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man," then the subject of mother right is the lengthened and still lengthening shadow of Bachofen.[6]

It would not be in order at this date to discuss or review the scientific merits of Bachofen's work, which has already been sufficiently appraised by others. It is my purpose, rather, to note the appearance of this new edition[7] and to call attention to the greatly needed changes in form and presentation, which were carried out with judgment and thoroughness.

A welcome addition to this great book is the "Nachwort" (pp. 1011–1128), by the editor, Karl Meuli. It is divided into three parts, as follows: (I) "Bachofens Leben" (pp. 1012–79); (II) "Entstehung, Wesen und Nachwirkung des 'Mutterrechts'" (pp. 1079–1117); and (III) "Textgeschichte und Textgestaltung" (1117–28).

Accounts of Bachofen's life (1815–87) had been published long before Meuli essayed his biography, but he had access to new and more abundant and more authoritative material, including Bachofen's posthumous papers. He also had available collections of letters from other sources. Meuli describes Bachofen's ancestry, his boyhood training, the crystallizing of his interest in the classics and his forsaking a career in his father's flourishing business, the positions he held, his travels both to study remains of classical antiquity and to learn foreign languages, and his relations with the scholarly men of his age. Details of his long series of publications both before and after the appearance of *Das Mutterrecht* are presented in due course. He was deeply interested in Roman law and history, but he was absorbed in certain aspects of primitive life. As Meuli remarks, "der Urzeit gehört Bachofens Liebe" (p. 1080).

In this recital of achievement the reader catches some of Bachofen's enthusiasm as he pursued his various scholarly activities and published the results of his investigations one after another. In his own words, he lived "ein reicheres Leben . . . als irgendein König der Erde" (p. 1062).

The second part of the Nachwort recounts the events leading to the conception of the book and the years of composition. It is a story of unremitting devotion to work and to an aim. When the book appeared, it failed to get the reception Bachofen had hoped for. Owing to reasons noted later, the form of the printed page made it difficult to read. In addition, Bachofen's critics were not sympathetic toward some views he expressed, for he had generalized too hastily. The author himself was too wise to believe that his study was free from errors and deficiencies (p. 1070). By 1870 enough other publications containing material on his subject had appeared to induce him to undertake a revision of his book (p. 1115), but he did not live to complete it. The glory of making a fresh discovery unaided will, however, always be his.

In the third part of the Nachwort we find a recital of the burdensome editorial problems encountered and surmounted in preparing the new edition. One who picks up the 1861 edition for the first time is provoked by the digressions and long lists of references that are incorporated in the text without differentiation of type. It requires the art of a *desultor* to jump over an indefinite number of intruding lines (even as many as forty) and to find the proper place to land. In the new edition note material is properly placed, and the text can be read without vexation. One is now glad to learn that Bachofen's manuscript clearly distinguished between text and notes and that the blame for mixing them is to be charged to the printer (pp. 1097, 1118–19). Presumably

[4] Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, 408–9.

[5] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, II, 377–78.

[6] The abundant material provided by the remains of the great civlization in Crete was unknown, of course, to Bachofen. See Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, 391–97, where many references to publications on Crete are given.

[7] In 1897 there was published an edition of *Das Mutterrecht* (B. Schwabe, Basel) that was "gänzlich unverändert" (except for misprints) and that reproduced erroneous citations with undeviating fidelity. The editor of the 1948 edition has made some restrained comments about it (pp. 1120–22). It is typographically far more attractive, however, than the first edition.

Bachofen himself is responsible for the lengthy paragraphs. The second one (in the original version) is three and one-half pages long. A later paragraph runs to five pages.

Like a host of authors of more recent date, Bachofen found it agonizing to carry out the final requirements of good scholarship. He slighted the essential task of checking everything after the completion of the manuscript, so that numerous erroneous citations proved to be "zeitraubende Rätsel" (1126). When the authorship of certain works is incorrectly given, the need of correction is obvious at a glance, but less thorough editors might easily have failed to notice the error in "Athenagoras [*statt* Athenodor] bei Clemens Alex." (p. 182 of the 1861 edition).

The editors have also filled out overcondensed references to the classics and to inaccessible or forgotten works with which Bachofen's contemporaries were familiar. The new references to more readily available and more authoritative publications are welcome. Another improvement is the transfer of carelessly placed index numbers to more appropriate positions. It will be seen that the task of organizing and correcting the notes and putting them in scholarly form was likewise "zeitraubend."

Bachofen regarded the compiling of an index as "eine wahre Höllenarbeit" (p. 1127), and hence left to his present editors the unpleasant task of reworking it. They have also done us a service by making an index of the important references to classical sources.

In their devotion to the memory of a great fellow countryman Professor Meuli and his aides have been unsparing of themselves. I know of no more unselfish work of scholarship in another's behalf.

It may be added that the new edition of *Das Mutterrecht* comprises Volumes II–III of a projected series of ten volumes, which will include all of Bachofen's works ("Gesammelten Werke Johann Jakob Bachofens"). The undertaking seems almost superhuman. To be truly useful the remaining volumes should give references to all the valuable literature that has appeared in the last century on the subjects treated by Bachofen.

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Constancy in Livy's Latinity. By KONRAD GRIES. Privately printed for the author by the King's Crown Press, Morningside Heights, New York, 1949. Pp. 176. Price not stated.

De Saussure's fallacious dichotomy between *la langue*, as a sort of reservoir in your head, and *la parole*, the act of speech, has done a great deal of mischief in the study of language. Language is a *continuum* from one day to the next, generation after generation. The entire notion of synchronic grammar is a mere fiction, possibly convenient for a spoken language and even feasible for a "dead" one, but misleading nonetheless. Perverse as the theory is, far more fatuous has been the practice of many a dissertation on the style of this or that Greek or Latin writer. The author of such appears as a rule never to have heard of development in language but puts his clumsy fingers on what he identifies as "poetic" style on much the same kind of evidence whereby he feels an ache in his own stomach. Any modern critic who dissected, say, Churchill's English in the way in which classical scholars have done Livy's Latin or Thucydides' Greek would be denounced as a charlatan—and first and most forcibly by Churchill himself. The critic will find it wiser to wait until Churchill has been dead for a millennium or two, by which time English itself will have changed so much that there will be no one with a knowledge of it sure enough for confident contradiction.

Gries's monograph, a monument to untold toil, is a reaction against the current nonsense that pervades the histories of Latin literature about "poetic color" in Livy. Reduced to concrete terms, all this bleating would mean that neither Livy nor Vergil had the ability to write Latin without borrowing from some predecessor. Instead, Gries concludes—correctly, as I think—that "to see borrowings and influences in every stray coincidence of vocabulary, syntax and phraseology is surely an extravagance." It is not merely that; it is a failure to see that a language is essentially a set of patterns within which any user of it, so long as it survives, must confine himself—to a point. The paradox, that contemporaries speak and write a common language alike, and yet cannot speak and write alike, is one that every

student of style has to resolve without rushing to either extreme of seeing imitation in every line or of denying it altogether. Only by imitation do we learn to talk or write at all; yet we are free at the same time to innovate. Gries has perhaps reacted too strongly against his predecessors, but the reaction will be wholesome, and at least it is defended by an impressive assembly of the facts and judicious argument.

His conclusion, in brief, is, in his own words:

> There is admitted proof that Livy made changes in his use of language, and that these changes in many instances occur between the tenth and the twenty-first book. The peculiarities, however, that mark the first decade are attributable to the peculiar requirements of the contents of these books, not to the historian's desire to write "poetically"; their subsequent disappearance is due partly to the greater historicity of the later books, partly to the perhaps deliberate discarding of overused phraseology, but not to a conscious attempt on the part of the author to return to a "standard" recognized by him as more suitable to his task.

This is not only reasonable in itself but in accord with the evidence that Gries has mustered to show that many usages, in the first decade, claimed as poetic or as proof of stylistic development are not, in fact, such and that Livy's style is, so to speak, constant in its inconstancy. A particularly convincing example is his analysis (pp. 21–26) of the use of *amnis*, *flumen*, and *fluuius*, which makes it clear that Livy was all but indifferent to whatever the older distinction had been (something of an alien flavor, it would seem, about *amnis*), so that, so far from echoing the poets, Livy and his contemporaries no longer felt any special peculiarity in the word *amnis*.[1]

At his most "poetic," Livy is far from using a poetic style, which (in Latin) is much closer to the language of everyday life in such features as a preference for simple verbs instead of compounds, case forms without prepositions, infinitives instead of gerunds or *ut*-clauses, and shorter and simpler sentences than the elaborate prose idiom of oratory or even history. And in one peculiarity, namely, the failure to obey strictly the rules for sequence of tenses in indirect speech—a practice that was completely developed by the time of Cicero—Livy actually is old-fashioned and, by comparison with Cicero, behind his times. But it would be as hard to demonstrate the influence, consciously or unconsciously felt, of older writers in this detail of his usage as to plead the "Interesse der Deutlichkeit" (Hofmann). But this is more a matter of historical syntax than of style.

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[1] The common word for "river" in Keltic is cognate, but it may be doubted whether the Latin word (which is found in the oldest extant writers) could ever have been conceived as strongly dialectal, or as geographically limited, as (say) clear loan words like *loch* or *arroyo*.

The Greek Cynics. By FARRAND SAYRE. Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1948. Pp. 112. $1.50.

In 1938 Sayre published an extract from his doctoral dissertation under the title, *Diogenes of Sinope: A Study of Greek Cynicism* (Baltimore). His more recent volume is little more than a revision of that earlier publication. The chapter headings are identical in the two volumes, though their order is altered. In the place of the "Bibliography" and "Sources of Information," Sayre has substituted two appendixes containing translations of the fragments of Crates and Bion. The Index has been shortened to about half its original length, and the total length of the volume has been reduced by twenty-seven pages.

Sayre has made many changes in the presentation and interpretation of his material. In the later volume he is much more critical than before of the ancient accounts of the Cynics, questioning even the Cynicism of Diogenes: "Diogenes of Sinope was a semi-mythical character whose connection with Cynicism is doubtful" (Foreword). He denies that Crates, Bion, Teles, Menippus, Eubulus, Cercidas, Demonax, or Dio Chrysostom can be properly called members of the Cynic sect: "Crates of Thebes was not a Cynic" (p. 31). "Bion of Borysthenes . . . cannot be classified as a Cynic" (p. 36). "There is no apparent reason for classing Menippus as a Cynic" (p. 69). "He [Dudley] names as real Cynics Cercidas, Dio Chrysostom and Demonax. But these men were not Cynics; neither were those whom

Epictetus and Julian regarded as 'the Cynics of old'" (p. 80). In his earlier volume (p. 94) Sayre had called Crates the founder of the Cynic sect, but his later view appears to be that the Cynics were a group of illiterate and idle beggars whose sect first appeared in the second century B.C. and continued until the fifth century A.D. Sayre does not identify by name a single person whom he would call a member of this sect.

As in his earlier book, the author shows no sympathy whatever for Diogenes and the Cynics. In the Foreword he states that "in this work an attempt has been made to show the Greek Cynics as they were and to explain their philosophy." Diogenes was, in Sayre's view, "a vagrant beggar with a criminal record . . . who did nothing, taught nothing and wrote nothing" (p. 68). "His dominant characteristic was egotism" (p. 66); "he was a megalomaniac" (*ibid.*). "He seems to have been driven out of Athens and to have gone to Corinth as a city having more lax standards of conduct" (p. 59). The Cynics as a sect were idle (p. 11) and improvident (p. 13); their "repudiation of possessions led them to ignore the property rights of other men" (p. 16); they disregarded "public opinion, reputation, honor and dishonor" (p. 16); "ignorance became elevated to the rank of a Cynic virtue" (p. 18); "the distinction between right and wrong did not enter into Cynicism" (p. 24).

Disliking the Cynics so heartily, Sayre is at a loss to explain the idealization of them, calling it "the most surprising thing" (p. 67). He can account for it only by supposing that Diogenes of Sinope was confused in ancient times with at least two (and perhaps three) other men of the same name (p. 82) and that the Stoics, editing the works mistakenly attributed to him, refined and elevated his teaching (pp. 76, 81).

In view of Sayre's thesis that the Cynic sect did not appear before the second century B.C. one might have expected him to devote at least one chapter to this later period. The genuine Cynics become very shadowy indeed, when all the persons mentioned by name in the book are found not to be members of the sect. Nor is Sayre's account of the source material at all satisfactory. He makes rather considerable use of the *Letters* attributed to Diogenes and Crates, though he nowhere gives any justification for this procedure; in fact, he believes that the letters were not written by Cynics but by Stoics. His conviction that the Cynics wrote nothing leads him to exclude from the sect all literary figures. His only evidence about the school, therefore, comes from the reports of its friends and enemies. If he is correct in supposing that the Cynics wrote nothing, the problem of evaluating the source material becomes very difficult indeed; in any event, it deserves far more attention than Sayre gives it.

But Sayre is surely in error when he excludes Crates and his followers from the Cynic sect. Crates' Cynicism is widely attested; he is called a Cynic even by his younger contemporary, Menander (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 93); and the fragments of his writings give excellent firsthand evidence of the teachings of the Cynics.

Quotations from ancient texts are all given in English translations, the sources of which are seldom given. Citations from Diogenes Laertius follow closely the Loeb translation, apparently without acknowledgment. Translations from the so-called *Letters* of Diogenes and Crates are very free and at times inaccurate; for example, the passage from the thirteenth *Letter* of Crates (p. 7) should read: "That of Diogenes, who found the short cut to happiness"; and the passage from the thirty-fourth *Letter* of Diogenes (p. 55) should read: "If now I reconcile you, mother, by showing you that greater men than I have worn threadbare cloaks. . . ."

Sayre's views, because they are so extreme, will perhaps command a certain amount of attention; he has failed, however, to give a convincing account of the history and the teaching of the Cynics.

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Prudence. Vol. III: *Psychomachie, Contre Symmache*. Edited and translated by M. Lavarenne. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1948. Pp. 211+double pp. 48–82, 107–96.

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens has been acclaimed by Bentley as "Christianorum Maro et Flaccus"; by his modern editor, Bergman, as "antiquitatis Christianae poeta facile princeps"; and by Bardenhewer, the German historian of early Christian literature, as "ein Dichter, welcher unter den lateinischen Dichtern des 4. Jahrhunderts, Christen wie Heiden, unbestritten den ersten Platz behauptet."[1] As yet, however, there has been no complete translation of the poet. That lack is now being supplied in the Budé series by Professor Maurice Lavarenne. The three volumes which have now appeared contain about two-thirds of Prudentius' work.

In 1933 Lavarenne published a thesis of 682 pages, his *Étude sur la langue du poète Prudence*, of which De Labriolle said: "Ce qu'il a voulu et pu faire, il l'ai fait avec une application, une exactitude, une conscience scrupuleuse, qu'on ne saurait trop louer. Cette thèse est un bon, un solide travail."[2] In the same year he published as a supplementary thesis an edition of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, with translation, commentary, and historical introduction, announcing also that he intended to edit and translate the other poems similarly. The results of that intention now appear in the Budé edition, but the scope of the commentary is much restricted.

The first portion of this volume, which presents the *Psychomachia*, is reprinted, with only slight changes, from the edition of 1933. A few corrections suggested by Marouzeau[3] have been incorporated in the translation. Despite the criticism of De Ghellinck,[4] Hugo of St. Victor is still called (p. 28) "le théologien flamand."

The Latin text is that of Bergman published in the Vienna Corpus, with very few changes. The new portion of this work is the translation of the two books *Contra Symmachum*, with the introduction and notes which accompany it. This is a work of Christian apologetics in 1,789 hexameters, ostensibly a reply to the pagan senator Symmachus, who had, in 384, argued for the restoration of the altar of Victory in the curia and the state support of the pagan priests and vestals. Symmachus' *Relatio*, together with the reply of Ambrose, is here published, with French translation, as part of the introduction to Prudentius' poem.

Prudentius is not an easy author. The language is often obscure or compressed and is crowded with allusions to history and mythology. I was once so fascinated with the *Contra Symmachum* that I prepared for my own use a rough translation, with notes on selected points. This has facilitated for me a more detailed study of Lavarenne's translation than I might otherwise have undertaken. As a rule, I find it to be clear, explicit, and illuminating. When doubts remain in the translator's mind, the reader is warned of the fact by a note. To discuss the difficulties and to defend his translation would have required a much more extended commentary than the plan of the Budé series allows. I list a few apparent slips, and other passages where I would suggest a different rendering.

i. 246: *mense*, omitted in translation.

i. 300: *Constituere patres*, "Our ancestors set up ⟨as gods⟩," rather than "ils se les sont donnés pour pères." The deified elements here referred to include not only Neptune but also nymphs, dryads, and others who cannot well be called *patres*.

i. 368: *Funditur humanus Latiari in munere sanguis*, "Human blood is shed in the service of Jupiter Latiaris." This is a stock charge of the Christian apologists, as in Min. Fel. 23. 6, *Latiaris cruore perfunditur.*[5]

i. 398: *Quid sanctius ara*, "What is more sacred ⟨to the pagans⟩ than the altar. . . ."

i. 630: *ridendaque suis sollemnia calvis*, "and rites which even her own bald priests must laugh at." Cf. Lavarenne, *Étude*, p. 884.

ii. Praef. 4: *Cum Vesper croceus rubet*, "When saffron sunset glow turns to red," rather than "Lorsque l'étoile du Berger allume son or au ciel rouge." *Croceus* is a regular epithet of dawn,

[1] Bentley is quoted by P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de a littérature latine chrétienne* (3d ed.; Paris, 1947), II, 722; J. Bergman, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina* (*CESL*, Vol. LXI [Vienna, 1926]), p. v.; O Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (3d ed.; Freiburg, 1923), III, 440.

[2] *Revue des études latines*, XII (1934), 456.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[4] *Les Études classiques*, III (1934), 597.

[5] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (2d ed.), p. 124, n. 8.

sometimes used of sunset (Cypr. Gall. *Exod.* 615). But I cannot find it used to describe the evening star, or any other star.

At times the reader might be helped with further notes. For example, on Picus being drugged by his wife Circe (i. 234), the source seems to be Verg. *Aen.* vii. 189–91, and the *gemini tyranni* of i. 410 must be the Frank, Arbogast, and his puppet emperor, Eugenius.

In the Introduction to the poem there is a rather extreme statement of the common view that Christian attacks on pagan gods had little bearing on the actual beliefs of the time. One marvels that Christians could be so far removed from reality as to justify the statement (p. 98): "Si les apologistes s'en prenaient encore à ces dieux morts, c'est qu'ils n'avaient guère étudié le paganisme que dans les livres." The obvious answer is that the pagan cult was an ancient system whose continuity was highly valued and stubbornly defended down to the time of Symmachus and later. If the Christians drew on antiquarian books for their knowledge of that system, the pagans did likewise. Macrobius and Servius make use of Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum,* just as Augustine did. If the apologists chose to ridicule the more antiquated and discredited features of mythology and cult, it was simply in order to assail the pagan system at its weakest point.

The notes are intended for the general reader and sometimes lack the precision which might be expected in a learned work. I note, for example, the statement (pp. 205 f.):

> Le culte du Soliel, père de toute vie sur la terre, se retrouve à l'origine des religions chez à peu près tous les peuples. Mais chez beaucoup le culte de l'astre lui-même a été assez vite remplacé par le culte d'un dieu qui, tout en personnifiant l'astre, se distinguait néanmoins de lui, et était plutôt considéré comme son créateur, son "génie," ou son conducteur, par exemple Phébus-Apollon chez les Grecs, Baal chez les Phéniciens, Mithra chez les Perses.

The reader might well ask: When and where was the cult of the sun "replaced" by that of another god? Did the Greeks, in general, worship Apollo as creator, genius, or conductor of the sun? Was Mithra a sun-god among the Persians? It has been pointed out by J. E. Fontenrose (*TAPA*, LXX [1939], 453) that Apollo was not commonly regarded as a sun-god until after the time of Vergil and Ovid.

These criticisms, after all, do not touch on the principal aim of the book, which is to make Prudentius' works accessible to a larger number of readers. Lavarenne is amply qualified for the difficult task of translation, doubtless better qualified than any other living scholar.

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L'Hermétisme. By A.-J. Festugière. ("K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse" [1947-48], No. 1.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1948. Pp. 58.

Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri. By Martin P. Nilsson. ("K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse" [1947–48], No. 2.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1948. Pp. 35.

These two papers, each by an acknowledged master, are fine examples of scholarly synthesis. Each surveys a notoriously difficult field of limited intrinsic interest, which is, however, illuminated by a fine perception of its relevance to a wider background.

Festugière's work consists of three lectures. The first, "La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste," indicates the extent and nature of the Hermetic writings. The second, "La Doctrine hermétique du salut," is, for the most part, an exposition of the *Poimandres* (*CH* i), supplemented in part by material from the other gnostic treatises of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (especially iv, vii, xiii), while the last, "Le Salut hermétique et les autres formes de salut," contrasts gnostic Hermetism both with normative Greek thought and with its contemporary rival, Christianity.

That part of the first lecture which deals with the older, "popular" Hermetic writings, which in part go back even to the third century B.C., is, in effect, a brief summary of the ground covered in Festugière's *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, Vol. I: *L'Astrologie et les*

sciences occultes (cf. *CP*, XLIII [1948], 56–58). The rest of this lecture and the whole of the following ones are, presumably, a preview of the second part of that work, which is to be concerned with the philosophical and theological writings. There we shall be provided with the detailed analysis and the scholarly apparatus. Meanwhile, we may be grateful to the author for giving us, in brief compass, the gist of his findings, the fruit of his many years' labor (with A. D. Nock) on the Budé edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum.*

The paper by Nilsson is somewhat narrower in scope, since the magical papyri are examined not for their own sake but for the incidental light which they throw upon the religious concepts of their time, chiefly the fourth and fifth centuries of our era. It is also, necessarily, more detailed in approach, and I shall single out only a few of the author's observations and conclusions.

The basic element in these papyri is, of course, Egyptian; and this Nilsson does not attempt to examine; but there is also a generous intermixture of Greek and oriental divinities. Jewish influence is particularly evident. Apart from Helios, the most common names invoked are Iao, Sabaoth, and Adonai, and names of angels abound. Yet strangely, despite the preoccupation of the magicians with the concept of God as a Creator and Universal Ruler, there is no appreciation of the special fitness of the Old Testament Yahweh to this role or, indeed, of his majesty. Of all this mass of literature, it is the metrical hymns which appear most Hellenic; and Nilsson suspects that fragments of a purely Greek magic are, in fact, imbedded here (the prose hymns, on the contrary, are of "oriental" type and, in some cases at least, seem to derive directly from Egyptian cult hymns; cf. H. Riesenfeld, *Eranos Rudbergianus* [1946], pp. 153 ff.).

It is instructive to note which Greek gods come to the fore. Helios is best considered as Egyptian, and even Hermes owes something of his popularity to his identification with Thoth. Apollo, as the great oracular god, naturally appears. Aphrodite and Eros are invoked primarily, though not exclusively, in love charms. Hecate is less prominent than might have been expected, and this is perhaps as good an indication as any that, notwithstanding the language, the development of this magic was primarily non-Greek. Hecate is, in fact, largely absorbed by Selene, who becomes a cosmic divinity, to whom the highest powers can be ascribed. Other Greek gods appear as well, but less frequently. Despite the prevailing tendency toward monotheism, Zeus plays only a minor role; it is not here that we shall find a successor to Aeschylus and Cleanthes. Zeus had too little status in Greece as a god of magic to be prominent in this arena, a fact which, in itself, is perhaps not without significance. Magic and religion, despite their occasional contiguity, are fundamentally opposed; and, although expressions of high sublimity occur at times in these papyri, the major preoccupation of the magician is with power, and it is only for the sake of this that he is concerned with the concept of a sole or supreme god.

As Nilsson points out, there is much work that remains to be done in the study of the magical papyri. The authors unconsciously reflect—to some degree and at a certain level—the religious attitude of their day. To be sure, magic, like all ritual, is strongly conservative; yet it is striking that a figure once so prominent as Tyche has so nearly vanished. Chance has given place to an astrological determinism. Elements of the past survive, but only as they continue to be "functional." Dangerous as the argument from silence is, it would be interesting at least to compare this late material with what is known of earlier Greek magic and to note lines not merely of development and innovation but also of atrophy.

FRANCIS R. WALTON
University of Chicago

A Study of the Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Greece from Pythagoras to Plato. By HERBERT STRAINGE LONG. (Dissertation, Princeton, 1942.) Princeton, 1948. Pp. x+93. $1.25, from author, at Dexter, N.Y.

The idea of reincarnation, which constantly appears as a fundamental assumption in so much of oriental religious thought, has, by contrast, never proved widely congenial to

Western man. Obviously, it is incompatible with orthodox Christian beliefs, but the Western aversion to the doctrine long antedates the rise of Christianity and seems deeply rooted in our whole culture, whatever be the reasons for this. Yet the idea is approximately as old in Greece as in India, and in each place it seems to have arisen by an independent development.[1] But whereas, once enunciated, it thereafter seemed self-evident in India, it won no popular support in Greece; though advocated by such men as Pythogoras, Empedocles, and Plato and accepted by Theron of Acragas and perhaps by members of his court, metempsychosis was never more than an eccentric element in Greek religion.

It is perhaps this fact as much as any specific evidence that has led so many scholars to assume that metempsychosis is a peculiarly Orphic doctrine, since "Orphism" has long been a favorite dumping-ground for all atypical features of Greek religion, especially for the period which is here under consideration. It is therefore refreshing to read a study of this doctrine without encountering on every page references to alleged Orphic influences. This is a distinctive feature of Long's dissertation, and it is also a real advantage, since it facilitates the direct study of the evidence without regard to a largely hypothetical dogma. For this approach the author is, as he freely acknowledges, indebted to I. M. Linforth; and the present study is perhaps the first reconsideration of a specific problem of Greek religion in the light of Linforth's *The Arts of Orpheus*. One hopes that there will be others!

It is Long's thesis that metempsychosis was introduced into the Greek world by Pythagoras and that it spread from Pythagorean centers. It is true that the earliest explicit statement that Pythagoras taught this doctrine comes from the first century B.C., but Long presents a convincing case for accepting Xenophanes, Frag. 7, and Empedocles, Frag. 129, as referring to Pythagoras; and he argues further that the "Egyptian" doctrine outlined in Herodotus ii. 123 is, in all probability, Pythagorean. Shadowy as the figure of Pythagoras is, there is thus a good circumstantial case for considering the doctrine original with him. There is, in fact, no other available candidate, unless it be the still more shadowy Pherecydes. Yet the Orphic mirage is still a power to be reckoned with, even in the case of the greatest scholars. Nilsson, for instance, admits that "there is in fact no early evidence directly ascribing the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul to the Orphics" (*Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXVIII [1935], 216–17). Yet in his truly monumental *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* he argues (p. 664) that, since Onomacritus, the author and collector of Orphic poems, was somewhat older than Pythagoras and since *metempsychosis was an integral part of Orphism*, therefore the doctrine *must* have originated with the Orphics and passed from them to Pythagoras. Quite apart from the uncertain question of priority as between two close contemporaries, the real issue here seems to be the assumption that "Orphism" was, so to speak, monolithic, that Orphic poems of the sixth century *must* have contained doctrines which are called "Orphic" five hundred or a thousand years later. Such an "Orphism" is the invention of modern scholars, for which the evidence, and particularly the evidence prior to 300 B.C., lends no support. Until this is recognized, "Orphism" will continue to distort, as here, our picture of Greek religion.

In successive chapters Long discusses the belief as it appears in Pindar, Empedocles, and Plato. It is probable that even for Pythagoras the doctrine had moral implications, and the later modifications of it were certainly intended to serve practical morality. That it was spread by the Pythagorean centers in southern Italy and Sicily seems likely: Empedocles was a native of Acragas, Pindar's *Second Olympian* was written for the tyrant of that city (also Frag. 127?), and Long argues for dating the

[1] Whatever the exact chronology, it is highly unlikely that the doctrine reached Greece from India. There is no proof that the belief was held at an early date by any of the nearer neighbors of the Greeks. Despite Hdt. ii. 123, metempsychosis seems to have had no place in Egyptian religion (though the fear of a "second death," which played some part in preparing the way for the doctrine in India, is found in the Book of the Dead). As for Thrace, Hdt. iv. 95 is not relevant, and Euripides *Hec.* 1266 ff. is, at most, inconclusive. On the question of foreign origins see Long, pp. 4–12, and, for the Celts of Gaul, Appendix I, pp. 87–88.

Meno during or just after Plato's first journey to Sicily.

In general, the author's discussion of the several passages seems sound, and his interpretation of the much-vexed lines of the *Second Olympian* is lucid and carries conviction. The treatment of Pindar, Frag. 127, is perhaps less satisfactory. Long rejects the Orphic interpretation of H. J. Rose; but to say that ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος means "atonement consisting in a form of suffering that was instituted a long time ago" is not particularly illuminating, even if correct. Actually, without the full context it seems doubtful whether the precise significance of the words can be determined. Again, it is perhaps unwise to insist as strongly as he does that the doctrine of this fragment is fully consistent with that of *Ol.* 2. We do not know that Frag. 127 was written for Theron, and the conformity, while not impossible, is not strikingly apparent. The group around Theron, Pythagorean or not, had certainly modified the original Pythagorean doctrine (as represented by Hdt. ii. 123). What one group could do, another could also, and Pindar was not the man to prize consistency above patronage.

These, however, are minor points. The main thesis is well maintained, and by his clarification of the problem Long may justly claim to have made some contribution to knowledge.

FRANCIS R. WALTON
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De Cosmographie van den Anonymus Ravennas. By BERNARDUS HENDRIKUS STOLTE. (Dissertation, Amsterdam, 1949.) Privately printed. Pp. xii+130.

Unfortunately, the *Cosmography* of the Anonymus Ravennas is at once a dark work written in the Dark Ages and a valuable treatise on the geography of the ancient world. This is, of course, because it used older sources that have not been preserved. The thirty-seven authors mentioned in it, besides books of the Bible, fall distinctly into two classes. Those mentioned in the Introduction (Book i) and incidentally later are for the most part either known (Athanasius, Epiphanius, Isidorus, etc.) or explicable as mistakes (Liginius, Crathon, Pentesileus, Marpesius). But in the body of the work, which consists of formal descriptions of forty-four *patriae*, there are regular statements of sources that present us with an amazing list of names, twenty-one unknown and even fantastic authors or works, all ascribed to some nation (Persian, Egyptian, African, Greek, Roman, Gothic) and all stated to have been read by Ravennas himself (*ego legi*). The names of Porphyrius (*miserrimus, nefandissimus!*), Iamblichus, and Livanius (Libanius) among the Greeks are very suspect as geographers. Nevertheless, most students of the *Cosmography*, from the first editor Pocheron (1688) down to Stolte himself, defend the author's good faith.

One fact is obvious, that the *Cosmography* is closely related to the Peutinger Table. Since the name "Castorius" appears most frequently in Ravennas' citations, Konrad Miller (1887), followed by Schnetz (1940, 1942), jumped to the conclusion that Castorius was the author of the Table and that the Table was Ravennas' chief source. Stolte now shows that this cannot be the case, since Ravennas credits Castorius with citations of sources, which would not have occurred on a map. Moreover, the agreement between Ravennas and the Table extends over parts of the *Cosmography* in which Ravennas says he follows some other source than Castorius.

Stolte leaves the problem of Ravennas' named sources unsolved and goes on to study the substance of the text. For the Roman Empire the main source was plainly a road-map, ancestor of the Peutinger Table. For the East beyond the frontier some other source of different character is postulated.

Stolte's dissertation marks valuable progress in a hard problem. Perhaps the solution will be found eventually.

AUBREY DILLER
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Horace: A Biography. By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. xi+182.

In the past several years there have appeared no less than three fresh treatments of Horace for the Latinless generation of the

1940's. Those by Professor Wilkinson and by Alfred Noyes were both more pretentious and scholarly than the present work by Henry Dwight Sedgwick. Although Sedgwick may not be a professional Latinist, (what is better) he is a true Horatian, an enthusiastic dilettante, who has here written a competent and charming biography, which is intended to be enjoyed by both the scholarly and the unscholarly, especially the latter. The book is so extremely readable that some of the brethren may call it superficial or even naïve, but I should prefer to regard its lightness and ease as springing from Sedgwick's lively desire to communicate the essential Horace. To put the point in different words, this latest of Horatian biographies is of no more than Horatian depth, but, at the same time, it shows a full complement of Horatian virtues, especially sophistication, humanity, level-headedness.

Sedgwick's intention is primarily to re-create Horace's personality rather than to deal with matters of literary criticism or exegesis. In the course of twenty-five short chapters he has considerable to say about period history, about the poet's literary and extra-literary life, his relations with his confreres, with the emperor and with his "angel" Maecenas (in treating whom the author shows good down-to-earth common sense). Throughout, we are regaled with a gay and cheerful narrative, and Sedgwick's only descent into pedantry is to catalogue Horace's wines and *femmes fatales*. He looks cursorily at each of the main genres in turn, quotes and translates copiously, and when he does not consider it worth while to go into detail (as in the case of the *Epodes* and some of the *Satires*) he blithely summarizes.[1] In all this it is difficult to find material errors or, more important, errors of extravagance and punditry. Indeed, Sedgwick has the defects of his own virtues: he has perhaps wisely chosen to be unambitious in matters of interpretation, but the end-result is a wholly conventional and sometimes inadequate commentary, devoid of the very freshness which is characteristic of the book as a whole. In particular, Sedgwick's understanding of the poet's art is less than it should be. He rightly emphasizes the architectonic quality of the diction, but, at the same time, his non-Latinate ear is deaf to the Horatian music: "To me his art seems more like that of the architect than that of the musician; he does not care greatly for harmonious sounds" (p. 97), a lapse which is only partially made good later on (p. 155). Furthermore, the author's treatment of Horace's "philosophy" is rudimentary and incomplete; he seems unaware that the poet was pre-eminently a dabbler, an eclectic, and not a simon-pure Epicurean. And, finally, he leaves the eager reader in total darkness about an important part of the sex life of the Roman upper crust: pederasty was too nasty a thing to be talked about in college classes or even in graduate school twenty years ago, but this generation will hardly boggle at the word or the facts. Sedgwick is either behind the times or too polite.

All caviling aside, this little volume should have a wide and delighted audience. I think that the poet himself would have welcomed this modest and humane account of his life and personality.

G. K. Strodach
Lafayette College

[1] "No. VIII describes a dreadfully dull dinner party at the house of one Nasidienus Rufus, to which even the fact that Maecenas is present cannot give a glimmer of interest" (p. 88).

An Index to Aristotle in English Translation. By Troy Wilson Organ. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. vi+181. $5.00.

This book is intended to be a topical index to the works of Aristotle—excluding the fragments and the *Constitution of Athens*—based on the Oxford translation. The intention of the author is worthy because a subject index to Aristotle is needed. The uses of Bonitz' *Index Aristotelicus* are limited, and, moreover, it is not readily accessible to many students of Aristotle. The indexes to the Oxford translation are scattered through the series, with as many as five in a single volume; moreover, they lack uniformity and are far from complete. While one might hope for a critical index based on the original text, it must be admitted that a good index based on a translation could serve a useful purpose.

Perhaps the chief difficulty inherent in Organ's project was that of working with transla-

tions produced by many individuals. Such a task, to be even moderately successful, would require a profound grasp of Aristotle's thought, in addition to considerable patience and discrimination. The very limited success of this attempt is due primarily to the fact that he does not approach his task by way of a personal interpretation of Aristotle's works but takes as his point of departure the indexes of the Oxford translation. He apparently considered it sufficient to collect the entries of these many indexes, introduce certain refinements, and make some additions. Sometimes, therefore, he is able to achieve somewhat greater accuracy than these indexes, but sometimes the opposite is the case. There are not the clear distinctions among the various subjects that one would expect; the index is far from complete; and, on the whole, it gives the impression of having been put together in a very mechanical way.

In order to cope with the variety of translations found in his basic text, Organ includes the various English translations of a given Greek term and for many entries gives the Greek term as well. But his employment of these terms is not consistent, and the Greek term chosen does not always reflect accurately the passages referred to (for example, *s.vv.* "Position," "Space," "Statement"). Separate subjects are grouped together because of verbal similarity (for example, *s.vv.* "Aeschylus," "All," "Affection"). More often the same subject has been separated into two or more entries (for example, "Useful" and "Utility," "Metaphysics" and "Wisdom," "Infinite" and "Unlimited," even—it is sad to mention—"Heracleitus" and "Heraclitus," "Odysseus" and "Ulysses"). The dependence of the author on the indexes of the Oxford translation is especially evident in the many obvious omissions (for example, *s.vv.* "Measure," "Divine," "Function").

It is good to have a collection of Aristotle's references—not without omissions—to his predecessors and their works. One can also read with profit the collection of "Proverbs" and other interesting material that Organ has assembled. It is unfortunate that there is no collection of Aristotle's references to his own works, which would have been very useful. The paraphrases of Aristotle's words are of varying degrees of accuracy. A number of misspellings occur, especially among transcriptions of Greek words. Many of the entries, especially among the biological and meteorological, seem unduly detailed. There is unnecessary repetition of references (for example, to the Platonic dialogues). Since references are given only to page numbers of the Berlin Academy edition, it would have been convenient to include a list of Aristotle's works with their respective page numbers.

Although this index is not without value, especially for the increasing number of those who read Aristotle only in translation, there is still needed a subject index of Aristotle based on a comprehensive survey and penetrating knowledge of Aristotle's thought.

John F. Callahan
Georgetown University

Party Politics in the Age of Caesar. By Lily Ross Taylor. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. viii+255. $3.50.

This book embodies the Sather Classical Lectures, Volume XXII, of the University of California. The "Age of Caesar" in the title is more specifically the years 70–50 B.C. Chapter i, entitled "Personalities and Program," discusses the strength of the aristocracy in public life; their *amicitiae;* the meaning of *factio*, *partes*, and of the terms *optimates* and *populares*, which are so frequently bandied about in the last half-century of the Republic. "Nobles, Clients, and Personal Armies," the caption of chapter ii, emphasizes the intermarriage among, and the traditions of, the noble houses; the relationship between client and patron; and the significant factor in personal influence of the oath taken by soldiers to their general. "Delivering the Vote" describes the manner of voting in the centuriate assembly and in the tribal assembly. Miss Taylor believes that it was Italians of the first class, brought by nobles and senators to Rome to vote for consuls and praetors in the centuriate assembly, who kept the chief offices in the

hands of the ruling class. The masses in and about Rome played the strong role that has generally been attributed to them in legislation, which was primarily the work in this period of the tribal assembly, and it was by legislative programs that a political leader built a personal party in the urban plebs. "Manipulating the State Religion" gives many illustrations of how the governing nobility made a mockery of what had always been inseparably bound up with politics. Chapter v, "The Criminal Courts and the Rise of a New Man," is almost exclusively concerned with Cicero's prosecution of Verres. Interesting is the suggestion, though it is supported only by an *argumentum e silentio*, that, among the *spolia* of Verres, there came to Cicero as reward for his success the praetor's place in the senate. Chapters vi–viii, "Cato and the Populares," "Optimates and Dynasts," and "Catonism and Caesarism," cover familiar ground and events that have been told many times but never suffer from retelling.

Criticism might be made of the phrase "Party Politics" in the title, but Miss Taylor is quick to warn (pp. 6, 8, 23, 163) that we must not think of "party" in the sense of the parties of our modern democracies. The Romans had no conventions, caucuses, platforms, bosses, and the like. Groups formed about this and that leader on this and that issue but on no general program. If there is any underlying difference, in my opinion, between the *optimates* and the *populares*, it is that between the "haves" and the "have-nots."

The volume as a whole supplies in clear form part of the supporting evidence to the assertion of W. W. Fowler (*The City State of the Greeks and the Romans*, p. 220) that at the end of the Republic the Roman aristocracy was "the most compact and powerful oligarchy the world has ever yet seen." It will hold its place among the best volumes of the Sather Lectures. Typographical errors have been noted only on pages 4, 64, 188, 194. The notes, in fine print, embrace fifty-five pages. The author appears to be familiar with every important scholarly contribution to the study.

C. H. Oldfather

University of Nebraska

L. Annaei Senecae Divi Claudii ΑΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΤΩϹΙϹ. A cura di Carlo F. Russo. ("Biblioteca di studi superiori, Filol. lat.," Vol. III.) Firenze: "La nuova Italia" editrice, 1948. Pp. 158.

It so happened that this little volume came into the hands of the reviewer just when he was himself engaged in preparing an article on the contribution of chapters 10–11 of the *Apocolocyntosis* toward completing the literary portrait of Augustus. In consequence, it has received a more thorough examination than might otherwise have been the case, and on this basis the latest addition to the Latin side of the "Biblioteca di studi superiori" is confidently described as the best-arranged and the best-annotated edition available of that little *jeu d'esprit* which has caused, in the course of the last four centuries (as, no doubt, it may have done on its original appearance), such intense fury of righteous indignation, on the one hand, and so sardonic a smile of amused appreciation, on the other.

The conservatism of Russo, marked throughout, appears from the very first in his unwillingness to see in the *Ad Polybium de consolatione* a subtle attack on Claudius at a time when the author was still under the severest restraint, as compared with an all-out attack in the *Apocolocyntosis* when all barriers had been removed (pp. 9–10). Likewise, his conservatism or his modesty or a fusion of both leads him to qualify the more literal (and, one suspects, all too probable) explanations of the peculiar name of the satire as "fantastiche" (p. 18, n. 29). In his commentary he leans to stock explanations on the whole but reveals at times a very penetrating skill of his own, which one might wish that he had used oftener, as in his note to 10. 3, *nam etiam si soror*, etc. The translation, which immediately follows the text, is in brisk Italian and may be recommended to those who read Italian more easily than highly idiomatic Latin as presenting a very fair idea of the liveliness of Seneca's post mortem attack.

The general bibliography and the careful listing of the manuscripts, along with the clear discussion of the "criterio costitutivo del testo," merit almost unqualified praise and

might well serve as models for young American scholars meditating editions. The discussion of the manuscripts shows the great care and pains which Russo has put into that side of his editorial work; the gleanings have, however, been minute, and it may surely now be said that all we are ever likely to know about the text of the *Apocolocyntosis* has been ascertained—short, that is, of a manuscript find which would fill the great gap at the end of chapter 7. The indexes (proper names, scholars and editors, phraseological, grammatical-syntactical) are apparently complete, as far as a rough check can determine.

It is customary for reviewers to end with a more or less uncharitable blast at misprints, which probably argues in them a profound ignorance of the very great technical difficulty of achieving the perfect book, coupled with a certain touch of human malignity. The present reviewer noted, *ambulando*, a number of misprints but has been completely disarmed on that score by receiving in amicable exchange a copy of the little work in which the author had listed as many more. It should be said, since the question has been raised at all, that the three varieties of pica type employed for text, for critical commentary, and for general notes, while permitting very clear reading, do at the same time suggest the possibility of some errors escaping the most Argus-eyed proofreader. None of the errors should cause an informed student any real trouble.

WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER
University of California

Platon et la recherche mathématique de son époque. By CHARLES MUGLER. Strasbourg and Zurich: P. H. Hertz, 1948. Pp. 28+427.

The central thesis of this book is (p. xix): whereas Plato stated (*Rep.* vii) that mathematics is valuable as a propaedeutic to philosophy, the connection between them in his personal experience was frequently the opposite, many mathematical ideas being suggested to him by his metaphysical speculations; as a result, he played a greater part in the mathematical discoveries of his age than has hitherto been thought. This thesis is supported by a great number of detailed arguments, mathematical, philosophical, and philological, of interest in themselves and well linked together.

The first chapter, with the title "Les Fondements," shows the extent to which Plato tried to purify the fundamental definitions of geometry from their empirical and sensory origins. E.g., he does not use *στιγμή* for "point," because of its connection with the activity of *στίζειν*.

In the second chapter, "La Similitude," it is shown, among other things, that the phrase *ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος*, used to express the congruence of two figures, is almost certainly due to Plato himself and arises from his desire to "Parmenidize" the foundations of geometry, i.e., to describe figures in terms of what they are in themselves, so that, e.g., "proof by superposition" is banished.

The third chapter, "L'Économie," makes full use of the preceding one, seeing that it describes how, in the *Timaeus*, the Demiurge determines the four states of matter—earth, air, fire, and water—by fitting together similar elementary triangles to form the faces of the cube and the regular octahedron, tetrahedron, and icosahedron. In order to explain, first, that, e.g., the solid state is different from the liquid and, second, that the one state may change into the other, it is necessary to construct the regular polyhedra out of elementary triangles in such a way that any one of them can be formed from the debris of any other. This idea already involves many of the fundamental principles of modern science; e.g., the surface-area (not the volume, as mistakenly asserted by some earlier writers) of the polyhedra must remain *invariant* under the change. Again, the strictly limited number of different shapes of elementary triangles allowed by Plato is in strong contrast to the infinity of different kinds of atoms postulated by Democritus and affords an excellent example of the "principle of economy."

The chapter entitled "L'Infini" begins with a discussion of the position taken by Plato in the contemporary dilemma that the daily rotation of the heavens suggests a spatially finite universe, whereas the apparent existence of parallel lines suggests an infinite one. This discussion canvasses the natural question: How close did Plato (a pronounced *finitist* with re-

gard to space) come to the discovery of Riemannian geometry? There follows a suggestive treatment of the connection between Plato's doctrine of time and his method of analysis in geometry.

In chapter v, "La Méthode," this method (of assuming as true what is to be proved and deducing from it a known principle) is discussed in connection with various philosophical concepts, e.g., the earlier and later kinds of ἀνάμνησις and, most important, with the ascending dialectic (from proposition to principle, i.e., from the many to the one).

There remains one question of central importance: the infinitely small, which is tacitly included in the title of chapter iv. The author's remarks about it are illuminating, but one part of them at least appears to be insecurely based. He discusses at length the Parmenidean and Heraclitean aspects of the irrational number, regarded, respectively, as "not the ratio of two integers" (a discovery of the Pythagorean school) and as "capable of approximation by a sequence of rational numbers" (supposedly a discovery of Plato's teacher, Theodorus). But the ascription to Theodorus rests only on a conjecture by Zeuthen about the relevant passage in the *Theaetetus* (147D ff.). The passage presents a famous and long-standing historical puzzle which seems, to the present reviewer at least, to have been solved, in a sense diametrically opposed to Zeuthen's suggestion, by the treatment of it (not referred to by the present author) in G. M. Hardy and E. M. Wright, *An Introduction to the Theory of Numbers* (Oxford, 1938), p. 42.

To sum up these remarks, which necessarily omit many matters of importance: the author is dealing here with two somewhat intangible questions: (1) the extent to which Plato instigated the mathematical research of his time and (2) the connection between his philosophy and his mathematical interests. As for the first question, the author has succeeded in presenting many details in a new light; as for the second, he has given an ample discussion, which, while it may at times seem to read too much into too little, will be of interest to all students of Plato's philosophy.

S. H. GOULD

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Epikur Von der Überwindung der Furcht. By OLOF GIGON. ("Die Bibliothek der alten Welt," edited by KARL HOENN.) Zürich: Artemis, 1949. Pp. l+134. $2.95 (Albert J. Phiebig, New York).

Epicurus, the heir to conflicting philosophical traditions, combines the radicalism of the Sophists with the practical widom of the early Greek poets and Socrates. He accepts, for example, the Sophistic thesis that all pleasure is in itself desirable; but he transforms pleasure into a Parmenidean "Being" and so secures a stable basis for the good life. Again, he takes from the Sophists the doctrine of the right of the stronger (*pleonexia*); but he applies this principle to actual situations in such a way that his precepts about justice differ little from those of Plato. Similarly, his view of friendship begins with the Sophistic contention that friendship is primarily a means of attaining security and pleasure; but in the course of his teaching, this view is so modified that friendship virtually becomes a part of the highest good. So philosophy itself is initially only a means to happiness; but ultimately, in combination with friendship, it becomes the highest form of the good life.

Along such lines as these, Gigon interprets the Epicurean philosophy (Einleitung, pp. vii–l). He finds in Epicureanism a kind of synthesis of the conflicting philosophical movements that preceded it. This is an illuminating approach, even though Gigon's statement of the sources of Epicurus' thought sometimes goes beyond the actual evidence. Epicurus is, in Gigon's view, a philosopher of considerable stature, making a significant contribution to the basic problems that were formulated by Plato and the Sophists.

The rest of the volume (pp. 1–134) contains a German translation of selected texts, with brief notes and a short Bibliography. The translation, so far as I have tested it, is accurate; passages that contain textual problems are often omitted. The main emphasis is on the ethical material, and Gigon is clearly familiar with the work of recent editors. In the ninth of the κύριαι δόξαι, for instance, he translates an emendation of Diano. Besides the κύριαι δόξαι (which he entitles *Katechismus*) he includes the letters to Herodotus, to Pythocles,

and to Menoecius, the Epicurean sayings preserved in the *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, a long passage from Cicero *De finibus* i, and over one hundred and fifty shorter fragments. Papyrus fragments edited since the appearance of Usener's *Epicurea* (1887)—for example, the many fragments of Epicurus' *περὶ φύσεως*—are not included. The claim made on the jacket of the book—"Der Band enthält alles, was von Epikur erhalten ist"—is not accurate. The notes (pp. 114–27) are to the *κύριαι δόξαι* only.

PHILLIP DE LACY

Washington University, St. Louis

La Lingua dei poeti eolici. By CARLO GALLAVOTTI. Bari and Naples: Adriatica editrice, 1948. Pp. 140. Price not stated.

If I were set to edit Alcaeus and Sappho—which God forbid—the first thing that I should do would be to analyze, on structural principles, the Lesbian dialect. Such an analysis disregards mere morsels of incomplete lines, fragments of lines with neither beginning nor end, a dozen or two letters at most, since *ex hypothesi* it is an analysis of the *continuum* of speech. But, once made, it would become the indispensable criterion for the separation of the possible from the impossible and the probable from the improbable. A sequence of letters such as]ωσκηνοσεβολ[(Alc. E 1. 11) may not mean much when rewritten in a recognizable Greek pattern, but it means even less unless it is. I know no one alive whom I would trust to "edit" the broken lines "from out the ghost" of Alcaeus or of Sappho in him—or, for that matter, some of the unbroken ones; a little work is better than a whole cemetery-full of ghosts. What ghosts may do, at their worst, we know already from the editions of Edwards and Diehl.

Gallavotti announces an edition of his own as forthcoming. Whether his account of the usage of Alcaeus and Sappho depends on his text, or his text on his account of the dialect, is, I suppose, a question not to be asked.

As it is, he tells us that his approach is philological more than linguistic, and I can well believe it, since he is prepared to consider a comparison of *θεός* and *deus* (p. 32). This is a covinous ghost (Lith. *dvãsė*) to listen to. How does the *-σσ-* of Ζόννυσσον (read in Alcaeus Δ1; Gallavotti, pp. 38, 40; but *-νυσον* inscc.) testify "lo scadimento di altro suono"? If Gallavotti means *-sį-*, he should say so. It is improbable that *κόθαρος* has become *καθαρός* in Attic. Again and again, in such matters, vague possibility appears where precision of statement would have been justified.

Inevitably, the discussion covers the same ground as Lobel's *Sappho* and *Alcaeus* of 1925 and 1927, with some new illustration from more recently discovered fragments. Much more will be needed, however, if long-standing *cruces* are to be broken. In the meantime, this is a convenient summary, in orderly arrangement, of the language (and meters) of the two Aeolic poets.

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

Harvard University

Ἑλληνικὰ τραπεζοφόρα. By G. BAKALAKIS. ("University of Mississippi and Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology," No. 39.) Thessalonike, Greece, 1948. Pp. 55+4 pls. $2.00. (Can be purchased from Professor D. M. Robinson, University, Mississippi.)

The subject matter of this pamphlet is less inclusive than the title would seem to indicate. The author has made a selection of ten table supports in marble from various Greek sites. The pieces are divided into two types, both derived from wooden prototypes with four legs, which, when translated into marble, were united to form rectangular slabs. The original form of the table feet, terminating in lion's paws, is clearly indicated on the marble.

Most of the text is devoted to a detailed study of a fragmentary plaque from Delos with figures in relief on one side. This is a superior work of art from the end of the fifth century B.C. in the style of the Nike parapet, with which the author compares it. The seated female figure on the Delos fragment, identified by the author with Artemis or Leto, is so reminiscent of the seated Athena in the parapet that a very close connection—if not identity of mastership—seems a necessary conclusion. The later examples of the same type of sup-

port, which are more briefly discussed, are interesting chiefly for the light that they throw on technical details of ancient marble tables.

The second type, in which a longitudinal slab is placed at right angles to the transverse table supports, was more common in Hellenistic and Roman times. The author devotes considerable space to show that both types were developed in Greece, although extant examples of the second type are, for the most part, of Roman date.

The study, originally presented as an inaugural dissertation at the University of Salonika, is written in ultra-demotic style, bordering upon the colloquial. The author intends to continue his study of other table supports, considerable quantities of which have come to light at most Greek sites. The present illuminating study of the limited material at hand would indicate that such a general treatise would repay the effort.

The pamphlet is listed as No. 39 of the "University of Mississippi and Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology." No list of the preceding thirty-eight items appears.

OSCAR BRONEER
University of Chicago

Klearchos. By FRITZ WEHRLI. ("Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar," Heft III.) Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1948. Pp. 85. (Albert J. Phiebig, New York, in wrappers, $3.30.)

Wehrli's edition of the fragments of Clearchus is uniform with his edition of Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus. One hundred and ten authentic and five doubtful or spurious fragments are printed on pages 9–40; and the commentary fills pages 45–85. The volume is slightly smaller than the *Aristoxenus* and slightly larger than the *Dicaearchus*.

Very few of the fragments of Clearchus come from the writings of philosophers, the most important being two from Plutarch (Nos. 4 and 97) and two from Proclus (Nos. 7 and 8). The great majority are from Athenaeus, who was more interested in anecdote than in systematic argument. For that reason it is difficult to determine whether Clearchus was, in truth, a profound thinker or merely a collector of curious bits of information. The fragments from Proclus, with their allusions to a myth about the soul after death, suggest Platonic influence. One fragment from Plutarch (No. 4) links Clearchus with Crantor in connection with an interpretation of the *Timaeus;* and an encomium of Plato and a commentary on the mathematical passages in Plato's *Republic* are also ascribed to Clearchus (Frags. 2, 3; cf. also 38). The second fragment from Plutarch (No. 97), on the face in the moon, states that Clearchus departed from Peripatetic doctrine at many points.

On the other hand, Clearchus' ethical writings appear to conform fairly well to the Peripatetic tradition. Among his writings were a protreptic work on flattery and luxury (cf. p. 52), a work on the "Phänomenologie der Liebe besonders in ihren pathologischen Formen" (p. 54), a work περὶ βίων, and a collection of proverbs.

Wehrli's edition of the fragments is, for the most part, free from the errors that marred the previous fascicles of this series. His text of Athenaeus departs from Kaibel's text at many points, and he has introduced quite a few new emendations. The commentary is very useful for the information and the interpretations which it presents. As in the previous fascicles, there is no general appraisal of the author, and there is no index.

PHILLIP DE LACY
Washington University, St. Louis

The Trials of a Translator. By RONALD KNOX. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1949. Pp. xiv+113. $2.00.

In this delightfully written book, full of pungent humor, a Bible translator answers his critics. To arouse the animosity of his fellows, one need not commit a crime; all he needs to do is to translate the Bible, as Knox discovered to his surprise and as the reviewer knows only too well, since he was a member of what Knox calls on p. 24 that "indifferent team of collaborators" who produced *The Old Testament: An American Translation*. The volume under review consists of seven essays, most of which

appeared originally as independent articles, chiefly in the *Clergy Review*. Since they all deal with the same subject from various points of view, there is a certain amount of repetition and not as much coherence as one would like.

It is to be noted at once that Knox's translations are from the Vulgate in the Clementine edition. And he translates as a Catholic, but that does not deter him from having little patience with such hallowed translations as the Douay and the Authorized Version. Knox is definitely modern and is dead-set against anything archaic. He aims to use English that is timeless, not to be hopelessly dated even in the year 2150 (p. 90). That is a praiseworthy ideal, but impossible of accomplishment because words are living things that change continually with the ages (cf. p. 13). One need not read very far to discover that Knox's own English is definitely dated; it is that of an Englishman of today, used to an abrupt, vivid style, tinged with Americanisms, and it is not timeless.

Knox says truly that the older translations are much too literal and he never tires of holding their Bible-English up to scorn. The translator must faithfully reproduce the thought of the original in the idiom of his own language. This means that he must not be afraid to paraphrase. In fact, Knox's own work is more of a paraphrase than a translation. He has done for the Bible more or less what Lamb did for Shakespeare. Laudable as this may be, I am not sure that it can be called a translation. While an English translation should definitely be in the English idiom, it should not be that so completely that it loses all the flavor of the original, leaving only the flavor of the translation. It has often been said that Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam outdoes the original; it does that, not only because it is good English verse, but because it retains so largely the flavor of the original. Hence in translating the Bible I would not hesitate to use all its figures of speech that are intelligible in English and I would most assuredly retain the parallelism of its poetry, as Knox would not (pp. 39 f.), and I would set it up in lines as poetry. It seems to me that it is important for the reader to know what is poetry in the Bible and what is not. Knox makes it all prose. A passage like Ps. 24:7 I would translate as follows:

> Lift up your heads, O you gates!
> Lift yourselves up, O you ancient doors,
> that the king of glory may come in!

Here is poetry, with metaphor and parallelism. On p. 50 (where the reference "xxiii. 7" is to be corrected to "xxiv. 7") Knox translates thus: "Swing back, doors, higher yet; reach higher, immemorial gates, to let the King enter in triumph." That strikes me as very flat; it is a paraphrase, losing and misinterpreting the metaphor of the original, for the doors are surely not to be understood, with Knox, as great doors with a smaller opening cut away at the bottom. The translator to a limited degree has to interpret; the paraphraser must always interpret and his interpretation must frequently be wrong because the Bible is assuredly not an easy book to understand and often lends itself to several interpretations.

It is hard for a translator to be consistent with himself and Knox is not. On p. 2 he says that the translator of the Vulgate must not hesitate to look back at the original if the Latin is suspect, but on p. 104 he defends his translation of *angelum* in Matt. 11:10 by "angel" instead of "messenger," which he acknowledges to be right, on the ground that he cannot see how anyone can get "messenger" out of the Latin *angelum*. It is very easy; the latter is simply a transliteration of the original ἄγγελον, the root meaning of which is, of course, "messenger" and not "angel." On pp. 84 f. Knox rightly condemns the interminable use of "and" in the older translations, and yet in his own he uses it to begin sentences in a way that no modern would and he does not properly reproduce the idiom of the original, as the reviewer has shown in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXIV (1945), 2 ff. Similarly Knox's defence of his use of "thou" in the Old Testament (p. 20), where English would use "you," is begging the question. Knox is modern, but not so modern that he has the courage to be completely thoroughgoing in his modernity, and I question whether his critics will be convinced that he has satisfactorily answered all their criticisms.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK

University of Toronto

A New Introduction to Greek: Revised Edition. By Alston Hurd Chase and Henry Phillips, Jr. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. x+186. $4.00.

The cause of Greek studies can be served better by a good beginner's book than many a plea for the classics which ill conceals a *laudatio funebris*. This book because of its excellence and its fulfilment of a long awaited need—to read good Greek as soon as possible—is destined to do much for the study of Greek in America. Dr. Chase of Andover and Dr. Phillips of Exeter started this book over ten years ago as loose mimeographed sheets; after a lithographed stage and wide use, which has contributed greatly to its improvement, the book now emerges into printed type form—beautiful in appearance with eight illustrations selected and their captions written by Professor Sterling Dow. In particular the illustration of ostraca from the Agora, associated as it is with the story of Aristides the Just (p. 72), is a valuable introduction to epigraphy. With the exception of the small italic Greek type in which the paradigms are unfortunately printed, the typography is excellent. Some old material has been deleted, some new material added, mostly increasing the number of sentences in the composition from English to Greek; the appendices enlarged, and the *lacunae* in the vocabulary filled. Though a summary of the syntax is included, the book needs an index and another appendix containing a list of the most common irregular verbs. The choice of the vocabulary is guided by Cheadle's *Basic Greek Vocabulary* and the English derivatives are an excellent feature. The book consists of forty lessons and, though the preface says it is designed to be completed in one semester of a college course, the experience of the reviewer, who has used it for over ten years, shows that a longer period is required. The student, however, has gone a long way in reading Xenophon and Plato at the end of one semester.

The outstanding feature of this book lies in its selections, whose wealth, variety, and significance make it a valuable terminal course as well as an Attic propylaeum. The book does away with the divorce between *logos* as form and its meaning, which characterized so much of the older methods of teaching Greek; the student is introduced to the riches of Attic Greek while learning grammar. Many of its selections are memorable and contain the Hellenocentric origin of many of our ideals. There is an uplifting maturity about the book which fosters the love of Greek and furnishes incentive to carry a student through the arduous discipline. The weakness of the book arises from compression in the presentation of the grammar. Like the book in Plato's *Phaedrus* (275e) both it and the student need an experienced teacher to help them; for example, the principle of the neuter plural with a singular verb is presented casually (p. 21); the exposition of the verbal used impersonally is sketchy (pp. 129–30); there is a general tendency to introduce words in examples which the students do not know (cf. νεώτερος p. 28, but νέος is introduced p. 32). There are no misprints, though κἄν (p. 128) = καὶ ἄν and not καὶ ἐν; ἐκδιδράσκουσιν (p. 107) is not in the vocabulary; καλοκἀγαθίαν surely does not mean *gentlemanliness* in the context on p. 125. Aside from such and other minor points, the book goes far in making ἀρχὴ ἥμισυ παντός a truth as far as this book and Greek are concerned.

J. A. Notopoulos
Trinity College, Hartford

A Translation of the Idylls of Theocritus. By R. C. Trevelyan. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co., 1947. Pp. xii+99. $1.75.

Few translations manage to transcend the stamp of their own age, and for this reason competent new translations are always welcome. For Theocritus, the standard verse translation has long been that by C. S. Calverley, first published in 1869, which, fine as it was, may seem to many modern readers too overwrought with an outmoded poetic diction to convey the freshness and charm of the original. Trevelyan's version, while not entirely free of certain mannerisms (including such forms as "he'ld," "I'ld," and some inexplicable interchanges of "thou" and "you"), is, for the most part, straightforward, accurate, and faithful. It should commend itself to many.

Since the Introduction is dated 1925, the present volume would appear to be simply a reprint of the volume printed by the Casanova Press in that year, which, however, was not accessible to me for comparison.

FRANCIS R. WALTON
University of Chicago

The Respublica Lacedaemoniorum *Ascribed to Xenophon*. By K. M. T. CHRIMES. ("Publications of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Manchester," No. 1.) Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1948. Pp. 48. 7*s*. 6*d*.

The author attacks once more the old and stubborn problems of the *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*. He believes (1) that chapter 14 should precede chapter 1; (2) that the dislocation is due to transposition of leaves in a papyrus codex of the fourth century; (3) that the whole treatise is to be dated in 395 B.C.; (4) that it is not by Xenophon; (5) that it was written in Socratic circles in Athens; and (6) that Antisthenes may be the author. An examination of these hypotheses against their background would require lengthy discussion. In the opinion of the reviewer the only one that is plausible is the date. Previously the treatise has been dated in 378 B.C.

AUBREY DILLER
Indiana University

Michael Psellus. De omnifaria doctrina. Critical Text and Introduction. By L. G. WESTERINK. Dissertation. Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij, 1948. Pp. 111.

The Byzantine text here edited in full for the first time is scarcely worthy of the author and the title, as it consists mainly of excerpts from a small number of ancient works. Westerink shows that four stages in its composition are represented in the manuscripts. First conceived as a work on nature (φυσικά), it was later expanded with sections on theology and περὶ νοῦ, ψυχῆς, ἀρετῶν. Only the fourth and last recension received the title διδασκαλία παντοδαπή (why the preposition in the Latin title?).

In an Introduction of fourteen pages Westerink reviews no less than one hundred manuscripts (none older than the thirteenth century), from which he elicits the history of the work. Only a few of the best are selected for establishing the text. A valuable feature of the edition is the detailed references to Psellus' sources accompanying the text. The chief sources are Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, *Aetia physica*, *Symposiaca*, Olympiodorus on Plato's *Phaedo* and Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, and various works of Proclus, including some now known only from Latin translations by William of Moerbeck.

Omnifaria doctrina is closely connected with the *Quaestiones naturales*, long ascribed to Psellus but shown by Delatte in his edition of 1939 to belong to Symeon Seth. *Omnifaria doctrina* was originally entitled *Quaestiones naturales* also, and both works are inspired by Plutarch's *Placita* and draw on other rare authors, such as Cleomedes, in common. Both are addressed to Michael VII Dukas, and they often occur together in manuscripts. It would be an advantage to have them edited together also.

AUBREY DILLER
Indiana University

BOOKS RECEIVED

[Not all works submitted can be reviewed, but those that are sent to the editorial office for notice are regularly listed under "Books Received." Offprints from periodicals and parts of books will not be listed unless they are published (sold) separately. Books submitted are not returnable.]

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